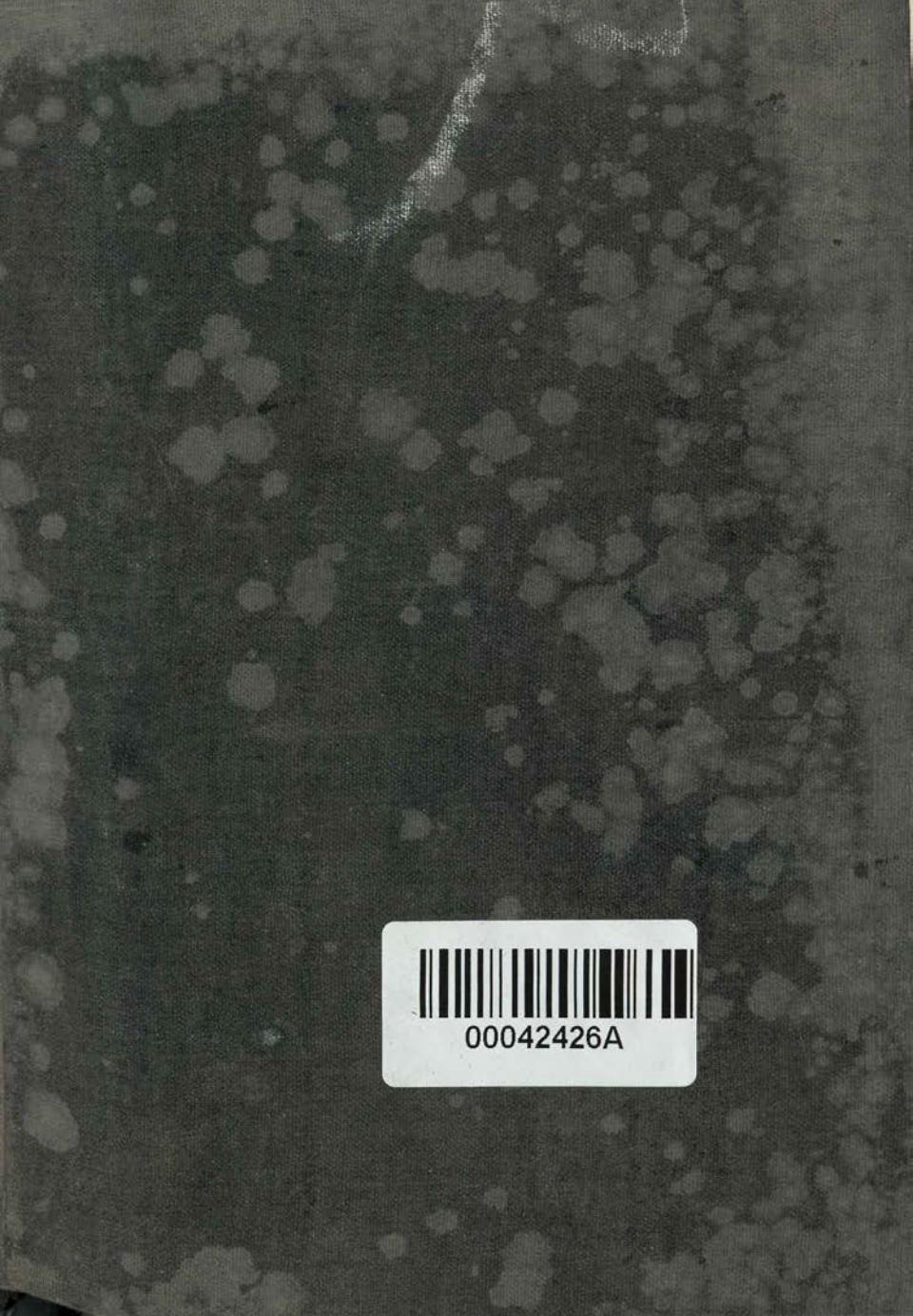
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PART III.

INDIAN THEOGONY.

CHAPTER XIII.

Introductory Remarks.

In the two previous parts my researches concerning the Original Inhabitants of India proceeded from a linguistic point of view, I shall now endeavour to prove that the conclusions I arrived at from philological evidence can be supported by, as it were, a theological enquiry. Though the main subject of these researches refers to the non-Aryan population of this country, I have as an introduction also to consider portions of the Aryo-Indian theogony, as both the Aryan and the non-Aryan have eventually blended into one.

The Sanskrit works which in particular contain accounts of such a nature are the Vēdas, more especially the Ṛgvēda, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Purāṇas and the Dharmaśāstras. The Ṛgvēda which supplies us with the most ancient description of the religious and domestic life of the Aryan invaders of India, and which on account of the sacred character of its hymns has been invested with a supernatural origin, contains the oldest, and as such the most important information, of this kind. The knowledge we derive from it is, however, of a very vague and obscure nature. The accounts preserved in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Purāṇas and Law-books refer to a later period, and are obscured by a legendary veil which renders their explanation difficult.

The Vēda contains a collection of ancient verses composed by different authors at various times for sundry purposes.

It is extant in four different Saṁhitās or texts. The *Ṛgvēda* contains the *ṛcas* or verses arranged according to the hymns, to which they belong. They are recited by the Hōtṛ-priests, and must be regarded as the literary legacy bequeathed by their forefathers to the present Aryan population of India. The separate verses of the Ṛgvēda hymns are compiled in the *Sāmavēda* without any internal connection and are subject to musical modifications; the Udgātṛ-priests sing these *sāmāni* or songs at the Sōma offering. The same verses are re-arranged into *yajūṁṣi* or prayers, and are with a peculiar intonation muttered by the Adhvaryu-priests of the *Yajurvēda*, of which two recensions exist, the *Kṛṣṇa*, the black or unarranged, and the *Śukla*, the white or cleansed Yajurvēda. The verses of these three Vedic compilations are known as *mantra*. The *Atharva-* or *Brahma-vēda* is the fourth Vēda and consists mostly of popular incantations, some of which can justly lay claim to great antiquity, as they have been found also among the legendary lore of other Aryan tribes. It is ascribed to the priest Atharvan. The verses of this Vēda rank more as Tantra than Mantra. While the hymns of the Ṛgvēda and of the Atharvavēda possess, besides their poetic and religious value, a high importance as historical documents, the liturgical element prevails in both the Sāmavēda and Yajurvēda. The latter, however, attained in subsequent times such a popularity, that the Taittirīyōpaniṣad likens the four Vēdas to a bird, in which the Yajurvēda forms the head, the Ṛg- and Sāmavēda respectively the right and left wings, and the Atharvavēda the tail.

It is hardly reasonable to suppose that man in his earliest stage should have possessed sufficient aptitude and leisure to consider the obscure problem of creation. Wherever therefore we find in olden times, or amidst hitherto unknown people, an account of the creation, we may safely ascribe such an account to a subsequent period when the conditions

of life permitted such meditations. The contemplation of the universe eventually, however, inspired the ancient poets to investigate and to try to discover the secrets of nature, to find out who created heaven and earth, the sun, the moon, and the stars, to determine whether the night preceded the day, or the day the night, and similar problems. Whenever the creation of the world forms the sub-stratum of thought, it seems natural to assume that this creation—if a creative power or impetus is admitted—may be ascribed to one or to more than one creator, this creator being often considered as the supreme centre from which creation freely emanates to sub-centres, which in their turn emanate *ad infinitum*. Yet, all the religions actually known to us which accept a creative principle, acknowledge the existence of only one creator. But he who believes in the existence of one creator need not necessarily believe in the existence of only one God. Much less right have we to assume, that the religion of the people to whom a monotheistic seer belongs, must be monotheistic. A faint monotheistic tendency is quite compatible with a limited or even an extravagant polytheism, and this peculiar feature is, if anywhere, extant already in the faith contained in the Vēda, and later on in the Indian Trimūrti and the immense Hindu Pantheon. The different Vedic gods, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, Agni, Pūṣan, Savitṛ, Sōma and others, are each in their turn praised and worshipped as the supreme divinity, but this worship of one deity at a time does not constitute monotheism. Every god thus adored retains his personal existence, and is not merged in another. This kind of worship has been styled *Henotheism* or *Kathenotheism*, but as such it must be distinguished from *Monotheism*, the worship of one god. At all events the Vedic Henotheism savours much of Polytheism. The qualities and the position of the various deities are subject to change, and this fact enables us to understand how the *Asuras*, the original gods of the Vēda, were degraded

when the period of their ascendancy had expired, and the very term *asura* became identical with demon, and how Brahman (Brahmā), the creative deity of the Indian cosmogony, was deposed from his throne, was reduced to a comparatively insignificant place in the Trimūrti, and nearly altogether lost his ascendancy as a propitiating deity.

The rapturous enunciations of enthusiastic bards, enunciations which, in course of time, often develop into religious tenets, as mighty forest trees arise from tiny seeds, should neither be undervalued as indications of poetic eminence or of intellectual power, nor overrated as religious inspirations of supreme value. A too high theological importance has, in my opinion, been attributed by some European Sanskritists to the comparatively few celebrated Vedic hymns which contain an allusion to the creation of the world and to its creator, an estimation which in this country has been readily accepted and has led to some peculiar conclusions concerning the ancient Aryan religion.

The overpowering impression which the elementary forces of nature produce on the minds of simple but susceptible people is manifested by the worship they offer to these powers individually. From the nucleus of these deified elements arise at a later period the complicated pantheons of the various polytheistic religions. The ancient Aryans offer no exception to this general rule. The natural origin of their gods is manifested by the ancient songs of the Vēda, which display the worship of the physical forces.

Vedic Deities.

I shall give in the following discussion a cursory account of the most important Vedic deities. The Vedic theogony has been described at length by many eminent European scholars, so that I need not dilate on it here, especially as an exhaustive treatise on it does not come within the range of this discussion.

The Vedic poets assumed the existence of three great spheres, the heaven (*div*), the atmosphere (*antarikṣa*), and the earth (*pṛthvī, bhūmi, &c.*). The atmosphere lies between heaven and earth, and these two together are called *rōdasī*. Heaven and earth are each subdivided into three spheres, those of the earth being called *paramā, madhyamā* and *avamā bhūmi*. The earth, or rather its spirit, is generally invoked together with heaven.

Varuṇa occupies in the Ṛgvēda the highest position. He resides in the heavens high above all gods. Like other gods he is styled an *Asura*, or Lord, and he is most probably identical with the *Ahura Mazda* of the Zend-Avesta. He is the chief among the Ādityas, or the sons of Aditi.[1] He is the surrounder of the firmament, the *Uranos* of the Greek, and became subsequently the god of the sea. He has spread the stars on high and the earth below, he fixed the Seven Stars in the sk[illegible] he constructed the path of the sun, the moon moves a[illegible] his laws, he made the long nights follow the day[illegible] he is addressed as the supreme deity, for [illegible] is called the [illegible] both of gods [illegible] ra and Varuṇa together mad[illegible] of the world. He is also often asso[illegible] the latter is regarded as presiding ov[illegible] na over the night. Mitra is identical w[illegible] d *Mithra*, and another brother of *Va*[illegible] Dioskur[illegible] becomes the Slavonic supreme go[illegible] otect men, th[illegible]

Sū[illegible]*a*, the sun, reside[illegible] especially when [illegible] with Agni and Indra or Vāyu th[illegible] tioned as their mo[illegible] ologists. He enlivens all that li[illegible] nd the planets are not [illegible] rest in the evening. [illegible] s. The moon is still k[illegible] hem to he genitor, are th[illegible], nor is *Bṛhaspati* ([illegible] Savitṛ, [illegible] planet Jupiter. Th[illegible] daily sung by [illegible] e stars which are fixed [illegible] ly assigned to celebra[illegible] aruṇa are generally [illegible] nśa, Savitṛ and Sūrya [illegible] soverei[illegible]

millions of worshippers.[2] *Pūṣan* is likewise worshipped as a solar deity or an Āditya. His name signifies nourisher, he is the protector of the paths frequented by men, he is the herdsman who drives the cattle with an ox-goad, and he rides on a goat. He is the lover of his sister Sūryā, and assists the day to alternate with night.

Viṣṇu, the pervader, is also a Solar deity in the Vēda. Although he does not occupy a predominant position, he appears as the friend of Indra, or as the god who strode over the seven regions of the earth and planted his step in the three spheres of the universe.

Uṣas or the morning dawn, the daughter of heaven and the sister of the Ádityas as well as of the night, is likewise worshipped She illustrates by her regular appearance the passing away of generations of men and the continuity of divine institutions. The two *Aśvins*, the divine charioteers, who sparkle with perpetual youth and are full of strength and of vigour, the [illegible] of the Greek, precede the dawn. They [illegible] they heal the ailing and help the distressed, [illegible] exposed to danger at sea. *Saraṇyū* is me[illegible]ther.

The moon [illegible] in the Vēda [illegible] as *Candramas* and among deities [illegible] *Brahmaṇaspati*) identified not as *Sōma* [illegible]y, [illegible]e Great Bear is mentioned with the [illegible]cording to in the sky, and which are among th[illegible]s. Like[illegible]nd saints as mansions. occasional[illegible] the divin[illegible] of [illegible] the atmosphere, is the *Indra*, [illegible] and of men, [illegible] Ind[illegible] the earth and supports god of t[illegible]r power all the creatures[illegible]ons in the sky and on the firm[illegible]ted with *Mitra*, when[illegible] *Bala* are thus con- earth, a[illegible]r the day and Varu[illegible]d and vouchsafes quered by h[illegible]ith the Iranic sun g[illegible]ss transcend refreshing rai[illegible]*a*, the Āditya *Bhāga*[illegible]

[2] Ṛgvēda III, 62, 10: 7. dhiyō yō naḥ pracōdayāt. [illegible]e sky

the sky and the earth and surpasses the atmosphere; no one, whether god or daring mortal, can resist his command and empire. He eventually supersedes Varuṇa, and takes his place at the head of the gods. He manifests himself in the thunderstorm, and his divine weapon is the thunderbolt. He supports the heroes in battle, swings his club, and heavy potations of Sōma give him additional strength.

Vāyu, the wind (also called *Vāta*), is associated with Indra, and is often mentioned as dwelling in the atmosphere in Indra's place. The first draught of Sōma is presented to him. The wind god *Vāta* has been identified with the old Teutonic god *Wotan* (*Wodan*) or *Odin*.

To Indra's or Vāyu's sphere belong likewise the winds. The winds κατ' ἐξοχήν are collectively personified in Vāyu, or individually appear as the Maruts. They are the gods of the thunderstorm. The Maruts are also called the sons of *Rudra* and of *Pṛśni*. They follow Indra to the battle. The term *Rudra*, roaring, tawny-coloured, is as an epithet applied in the Ṛgvēda to different gods, *e.g.*, to Agni, or it is used as the name of a separate deity, to whom as such are dedicated special hymns. He carries the lightning in his arm, and throws it as an arrow. He is the ruler of heroes, the fulfiller of sacrifice. His protection is required for men and for beasts, he heals the sick, destroys the wicked, but his anger must be pacified. At a later period Śiva, the propitious, is identified with Rudra, but Śiva is nowhere mentioned in the Ṛgvēda, and Rudra is still everywhere subordinate to Indra.

The rain god or thunder god *Parjanya* belongs likewise to this sphere, and he is the same as the Lithuanian god of thunder *Perkunas*.

Agni, the god of fire, who resides on the earth, is the first in the triad of Vedic gods. Though residing now on the earth, he came originally from heaven, from which *Atharvan* or *Mātariśvan* carried him as a gift of the gods,

and not by fraud as the Greek Prometheus had done. As lightning breaking through the rain cloud, Agni is called the son of water. In fact Agni lives in all the three spheres, as sun in the sky, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as fire on the earth. He is not worshipped in temples made by the hands of men, but under the open sky, and the holy fire is produced at his worship by rubbing a stick of the Aśvattha tree against a stem taken from the Śamí tree. He is the pervading life of the world, he remains young, because he is always renewed; he is the priest, the *purōhita* or *ṛtvij* of the sacrifice, which, as the first Ṛṣi, he offers to the gods. He purifies men, confers on them wealth, and protects them from their enemies, especially from the demoniac Rākṣasas, whom he [illegible] whose castles he breaks down. Thus he becomes the most popular god amongst men.

Though Varuṇa and Indra are often extolled as the mightiest gods, the Vēda does not contain a classification of the gods according to their rank, a classification which it would have been difficult to establish, for the gods did not, as I have already observed, retain everywhere the same position a fact exemplified by Indra, who himself, as he loses his eminence, eventually becomes the leader of the minor gods. In the Zend-Avesta Indra or Andra is even turned into a wicked demon.

The number of the gods is in the Ṛgvēda generally fixed at thirty-three, and in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, and 12 Ādityas are enumerated, besides heaven and sky. In the Ṛgvēda itself these thirty-three gods are classed in three groups, each containing eleven gods, who dwell respectively in the sky, air, and earth. As a thirty-fourth god *Prajāpati* is occasionally mentioned. Moreover, some well-known deities, as, *e.g.*, Agni, the Aśvins, the Maruts, Uṣas and others are not included in these lists, so that the number 33 or 34 is by no means sufficient. Some

hymns indeed allude to far greater numbers, when Agni, *e.g.*, is said to be worshipped by three thousand three hundred thirty and nine gods.[3]

Another division of the gods is into great and small, young and old.

The Vedic gods lost in course of time their ascendancy, and though Indra retained it longest, he was with some of his former colleagues relegated to the guardianship of a quarter of the world. He was posted to the east, while *Agni* went to the south-east, *Yama* to the south, *Nirṛti* to the south-west, *Varuṇa* to the west, *Vāyu* or *Marut* to the north-west, *Kubēra* (who does not appear in the Ṛgvēda) to the north, and *Iśāna* or Śiva to the north-east.

Yama, the son of Vivasvat and Saraṇyū, appears as the first man who died. He became the king of the dead spirits, who wandered to him after death. He is united with the gods, who think with him under a leafy tree, and is worshipped as a god. His sister is *Yamī*. He corresponds to the Iranic *Yima* who appears in the later legend as king *Jamshīd*. The Persian hero *Feridun* is thus a representative of the Iranic *Thraëtaona* (Thrita), who is identical with the Vedic deity Trita Āptya.

On Vedic Creation.

In course of time the belief in the power of the gods as representing physical forces declined, and the mind of thinkers began to ponder over the mystery of creation. The Ṛg-Vēda does not admit one universally adopted cosmogonic system, such as we find in the Bible. Well-known is the one expounded in the famous Puruṣasūkta. However, this hymn, though proclaiming the origin of the four castes,

[3] In Ṛgvēda III, 9, 9 are mentioned 3339 gods (trīṇi śatā trī sahasrāṇyagnim trimśacca dēvā nava cāsaparyan). This number which may have probably been formed by adding 33 + 303 + 3003. See the *Aitareya Brahmanam*, edited by Martin Haug, Ph. D., Vol. II, p. 212; Bombay, 1863.

hardly enters into the cosmogonic origin of the world. Moreover, it is of a comparatively late date, and its importance is thus much diminished. On the other hand, the Ṛg-Vēda represents too early a period for broaching cosmogonic topics which were afterwards amply and even *ad nauseam* discussed in the Pauranic literature.

Many different gods are, as we have seen, in their turn extolled as supreme and praised as the framers and rulers of the world. However, Prajāpati, Hiraṇyagarbha, Viśvakarman or Brahmaṇaspati appear in the Vēda especially as creators of the universe. Most celebrated among the Vedic creation hymns is the 129th of the 10th book, a poem which has been repeatedly edited and translated since the time of Colebrooke. The 121st hymn of the same maṇḍala possesses also great beauty and high poetic merit. It is addressed to Hiraṇyagarbha, the golden embryo. As the poet asks at the end of each verse: To what god may we offer sacrifice (*kasmai dēvāya haviṣā vidhēma*), the creator is also called *Ka*. Who the nominative of *kasmai*.

Where such a variety of opinions exists, it is too much to expect that the various legends concerning the creation and the creator should agree, and indeed we find considerable discrepancies among them. Even in principle they differ, for we find creation arising from *nought*, or from *aught*, or from *emanation*. These legends concerning the creation, however, initiate a new era of thought and reflection and as such they claim our attention.

According to one legend the universe did not originally exist. Indra, the middle breath, kindled with his strength the other worn-out breaths or Ṛsis. He was called the kindler (Indha), because he kindled them. And Indha is called secretly Indra. The thus kindled gods created seven males, but as these seven males could not generate, the gods turned them into one. This male became *Prajāpati*, who created

the Vēda by his austere penance, and the waters from his speech. He pervaded all and desired to be reproduced from the waters. An egg arose and the triple science, the *trayī vidyā*, was created.[4]

This account, which peculiarly enough gives a two-fold creation of the Vēda, is at variance with another found in the same Brāhmaṇa, which states that only the waters were at the beginning of the universe, and a golden egg was created when the waters desired to be reproduced. This egg moved about for a year, after which time a male, *puruṣa*, appeared; this was Prajāpati. As he had no other home, he remained in this egg for another year, when he desired to speak. He said *bhūr*, which became the earth, *bhuvaḥ*, but in the whole [illegible]ment, and *svar*, which became the influential. [illegible]pring, he created with his mouth and assumed the [illegible]ame such on reaching the sky, or not; and as the go[illegible]me daylight (*divā*). From his for their sacrifices, their [illegible] assumed this state gods, and the Brāhmans be[illegible] then set in, and legislator Manu could say th[illegible]ma and his birth the deity of the gods. [illegible]nd the framing of the the religious enthusiasm of the bar[illegible]vil laws was left to their way to the theological meditations of [illegible] framed the statutes, but Vēda of the sacrificial prayer when this [illegible] with the help of the fervour, and had sunk to mere formul[illegible]y reason. The strictly observed. This [illegible]r in its [illegible] the community, neutral Brahman, [illegible] one individual, the *Parātman* (*Pa*[illegible]s not the less [illegible] sacrifice, [illegible] the gods [illegible] priests [illegible]r the [illegible] the

they spread eastwards towards the plains of Hindustan and settled in large towns. Former shepherds and husbandmen, by becoming inmates of towns, altered their mode of life and became artisans and traders. New interests, and with them new divisions, arose and began to keep asunder the different branches of the population, which divisions, though originally only temporary, developed into permanent institutions and laid the foundation of the strict regulations of Hindu caste. The development of caste was greatly fostered by the fact that two rival and hostile races, the Aryan and the Gaud- Dravidian, occupied the country, and that the ruling [illegible]ation aimed at intensifying and perpetuating this r[illegible]cial distinction. The priest[illegible]ss profited most by such an arrangement, [illegible]ndra, [illegible] and Uṣas. In religious prece[illegible]pts and of the c[illegible] gods and the initiative. The priest not only [illegible]kewise said to have also superintend[illegible]ed their obse[illegible] order to create progeny; regal power, whi[illegible]e uph[illegible]ated, the word *kūrma*, tor- Brāhman priest [illegible]skrit root *kṛ*, to make.[5] Tradi- and thou[illegible] having conceived, to the great which became the firm[illegible] an unholy passion for his daughter, sky. As he desired off[illegible]ther the sky or the dawn, and from the gods (*dēvāḥ*), who bec[illegible] Rudra, who, as Paśupati, pierced *divam*. Meanwhile it bec[illegible] lower breath he cre[illegible] grew eventh[illegible] n religious feeling and in civil life was when they reached [illegible]king p[illegible] among the Aryans when with[illegible]t Evil. Aft[illegible] Paran[illegible]ēsthin[illegible] consequ[illegible] Asuras[illegible] assum[illegible] as h[illegible] toi[illegible]

[illegible]1.

[illegible] and XI, 1, 6.

developed in time into the male god Brahman, who occupied the high throne to which gods and men had recourse in their troubles, and who advised and cheered them as a grandfather his grandchildren. The divine Asuras of the Ṛgvēda became the demons of the Yajurvēda, Viṣṇu came more to the fore, and Śiva made his appearance in the Yajurvēda.

Prajāpati too, the creator of the universe, with its gods, demons, men, beasts, trees, and other matter, merges gradually into the person of Brahman, who though originally unconnected with, and superior to, either Viṣṇu or Rudra, eventually forms with them the Trimūrti.

The Trimurti.

It is a peculiar coincidence that the two great doctrines of the Trinity and the Transmigration of souls should have appeared in India, so far as we can judge, at about the same period; and so long after both had been known to the two leading nations of antiquity, the Chaldeans and Egyptians. The Chaldean triad, formed of the gods Anu, Bel, and Ea, the representatives of heaven, the lower world, and the water; the old Akkadian trinity composed of the divine father, mother, and their son, the Sun god; or the Egyptian solar triads of Tum, Ra, and Kheper, or of Osiris, Isis, and Horus are too well known to require explanation. It may be interesting to add here, that the Hindu Trimūrti has been also explained as a representation of the three great powers of nature exemplified by the earth, the water, and the fire, and that the Indian sect of the Sauras revere the rising meridian and setting sun, corresponding to Brahman, Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively, as symbol of the Trimūrti. Similarly well known is the migration which the souls of the deceased Egyptians had to undergo to expiate the crimes they had committed while alive, until they could regain their human body and be united with

Osiris. In fact this final union with and absorption in Osiris shows a striking resemblance to the absorption in the Brahmanic Parātman or the Buddhistic Buddha. As I do not believe Buddha to have been an Aryan Indian, this question is of importance. It is highly probable that these Indian dogmas did not originate with the Aryans of India, and that they can be traced back directly or indirectly to those ancient countries. It is also possible that because these doctrines were not previously unknown in India, they could be more easily spread in this country for the vast majority of the Indian population belonged to the same race as did the ancient Akkadians and Chaldeans. It seems to me to be a matter of great regret that while the antique religious and civil history of India have often been discussed, no notice has been taken of the bulk of its population; in consequence the results of the researches on these points have not been very satisfactory.

CHAPTER XIV.

On Brahman.

The legends concerning *Prajāpati* and *Brahman* have often a striking resemblance, and the latter occupies eventually the position of the former. Brahman was born in a golden egg and arose from the waters. At the time of the deluge he assumed the form of a fish, and as a boar he raised the earth from the waters. To him belonged originally the name of Nārāyaṇa, which was afterwards applied to Viṣṇu. As creator he became the head of the *Trimūrti*, a dogma probably unknown to Yāska, but already discussed at the time of Buddha, though finally developed at a subsequent period. His colleagues in the trinity, expressed by the mystic syllable *Ōm*, are Viṣṇu and Śiva. These three gods are respectively regarded as the representatives of the three natural qualities (guṇas), *sattva*, goodness, *rajas*,

passion, and *tamas*, darkness. Brahman represents *rajas*, the creating power, Viṣṇu preserves by *sattva*, goodness or indifference, and Rudra or Agni filled with *tamas* personates time or the destroyer. Yet, as creation involves preservation and destruction, and as each is indispensable to the other, true Brahmanism does not admit that any one member of the trinity is superior to the others. No man should attempt to create a division between the three gods, who does so, goes to Hell. Indeed some go further and assert that whichever of the three is Viṣṇu, is at the same time Śiva and Brahman, and that any one of the three gods reciprocally includes the remaining two.[6]

In consequence of his abstract origin and philosophical appearance and through his position of creator, Brahman always lacked the popularity which was enjoyed by his more attractive colleagues. In the Mahābhārata, however, Brahman is still the creator of the world, he is eternal, sacred, and omniscient; he teaches, advises, and governs the gods. He regulates all institutions and arranges the

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[6] Compare such well known verses as: "Avayōr antaram nasti śablair anyair jagatpatē," or "Śivaya Viṣṇurūpāya Śivarūpāya Viṣṇavē," or Tvām ēvānyē Śivōktēna mārgēna Śivarūpiṇam bahvācaryā vibhēdēna, Bhagavan, samupāsatē (Bhāgavata).

See also *Dēvībhāgavata*, III, 6, 54—56:

54. Yē vibhēdam kariṣyanti mānava mūḍhacētasaḥ,
nirayam tē gamiṣyanti vibhēdānnātra saṁśayaḥ.

55. Yō Hariḥ sa Śivaḥ sākṣāt yaḥ Śivaḥ sa svayam Hariḥ
ētayōr bhēdam ātiṣṭhan narakāyā bhavēt naraḥ.

56. Tathaiva Druhiṇō jñēyō nātra kāryā vicāraṇā,
aparō guṇabhēdō'sti śṛṇu Viṣṇō bravīmi tē.

One of the three qualities prevails in each god, the other two are subordinate; thus *rajas* does prevail in Brahman, *sattva* in Viṣṇu and *tamas* in Śiva. Compare *ibidem*, ś. 57 and 66.

57. Mukhyaḥ sattvaguṇaḥ tē'stu paramātmavicintanē
gauṇatvē' pi parau khyatau rajōguṇatamōguṇau.

66. Mukhyaḥ tamōgunastē'stu gauṇau sattvarajōguṇau (applying to Śiva).

See further *ibidem*, ślōkas 32, 39 and 44.

rules concerning sacrifice and penance, marriage and caste, and the position of kings and subjects.

Notwithstanding that Brahman was originally superior both to Viṣṇu and to Śiva, who as Rudra sprang, according to a legend, from the forehead of Brahman, the adherents of these gods deny his supremacy. Yet, it is difficult to arrive at a final decision on this subject as the legendary evidence is so defective. Brahman is thus represented as rising from the lotus which grew from the navel of Viṣṇu, while the worshippers of Śiva contend that Brahman was created by Śiva, that he acted as Śiva's charioteer and worships Śiva and the Liṅga. At another time he interfered in a dispute between Viṣṇu and Rudra, and persuaded the excited gods to allow Śiva a share at the sacrifices. The Prajāpatis, whose names and number are variously recorded, are known as his mind-born sons, and appear to be identical with the ten Maharṣis. These latter are mentioned as the progenitors of men while the Puruṣasūkta gives another account of this subject.

Vāc, Speech, his daughter, became the object of his love and as *Sarasvatī* his wife.[7] In fact this sinful attachment of Brahman became the doom of his supremacy, and caused the ascendancy of Viṣṇu and Śiva. By gazing intently at his charming daughter, he obtained five heads, but lost the topmost for this unchaste love by the hand of Śiva, and is henceforth called the four-faced or *caturmukha*. His four heads, each of which wears a crown, are also explained as corresponding to the four Vēdas. On his forehead he has the mark of musk (*kastūri*); in his hairlocks

[7] Sarasvatī is described in Dēvībhāgavata III, 6, 31—35 and in IX, 1, 29—37. Another wife of Brahman *Sāvitrī* is by some regarded as the deified sacred prayer which is known as the *Gāyatrī* (Ṛgvēda III, 62, 10); about Sāvitrī read also Dēvībhāgavata IX, 1, 38—43. Sarasvatī is called in the Vaijayantī, p. 3, line 18: Vāg Vaṇī Bhāratī Bhāṣā Gaur Gir Brāhmī Sarasvatī.

he wears strings of pearls, in his four hands he bears respectively the Vēda, a sacrificial ladle, a rosary, and an earthen waterpot. His colour is tawny. He sits on a lotus, and rides on a swan. Many names are given to Brahman and according to his worshippers he also possesses a thousand names.[8] I need not add that these legends are also explained from an esoteric standpoint.

With these few remarks concerning the earlier accounts of Brahman, I shall now pass to his present position. Many of the legends concerning all these three gods of the Trimūrti are of ancient origin, while others certainly point to a more modern invention. In some cases it may be possible to explain their source and to account for their *raison d'être*. As India has since time immemorial been chiefly peopled with two races, the Gauda-Dravidian and the Aryan, we need not wonder that, when these two began to intermix, each became acquainted with the religious beliefs of their neighbours and adopted in a more or less modified form some of their gods and dogmas. This circumstance explains the fact why so many Gauda-Dravidian elements are found in the modern Hindu worship.

And such an influence we shall also trace in the modern worship of Brahman. I have previously mentioned that he lost his fifth head on account of his unnatural conduct towards his daughter. But later legends contend, that it was at the instigation of Sarvati, who could not distinguish

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[8] In the [illegible] given the following lines:
Brahma [illegible]mā Dhātā Sraṣṭā Prajāpatiḥ,
Hiraṇyagar[illegible]ṣō Viriñcaḥ Kaḥ Caturmukhaḥ,
Padmāsanaḥ Sura[illegible]thaḥ Cirajīvi Sanātanaḥ,
Śatānandaḥ Śatadh[illegible]tiḥ Svayambhūḥ Sārvatōmukhaḥ,
Paramēṣṭhi Viśvari[illegible]taḥ Puruṣō Hamsavāhanaḥ.
Other names are: Ayōyōni, Aja, Ananta, Ātmabhū, Caturvaktra, Jagatarasṭṛ, Jñānin, Kamalayōni, Kamalāsana, Lōkakartṛ, Lōkakṛt, Lōkēśa, Padmaja, Sarvalōkakṛt, Sāvitrīpati, Vara, Vidhi, Viśvasṛj, Vēdhas, &c. The Buddhists call [illegible]tāmpati.

Brahman from her own five-faced husband, or because Brahman told a lie. He is therefore now generally represented with four faces.[9] The Skāndapurāṇa relates that Śiva cursed Brahman for his untruthful assertion of having seen the end of Śiva, and for producing in confirmation of this lie a Kētakī flower as a witness. The original judgment that Brahman was henceforth nowhere to be worshipped was on Brahman's appeal mitigated, and his worship was allowed on all auspicious occasions, and at all initiatory ceremonies and Sōma sacrifices.[10]

Present Worship of Brahman.

In consequence of the disgrace he incurred, as is now generally averred, or perhaps owing to his abstract and unapproachable position as creator, Brahman does not receive anything like the attention which is paid to Viṣṇu and Śiva. There exists also a proverb among the people that a man who has no house, says: "I have no house like Brahm[illegible] On the other hand it is a peculiar circumstance worth [illegible]tioning that the principal festival of every temple

[9] See beginning of note 16, on page 297.

[10] The curse was: Yatra kutrāpi lōkē'smin apūjyō bhava, padmaja.
This was modified to:
Śubhakāryēṣu sarvēṣu prati[illegible]dīkṣādhv[illegible]
Pūjyō bhava, caturvaktra, mad[illegible]vacō[illegible] bhavēt.
In consequence Brahman is revered as [illegible] the sacrifice at all yāgas, vratas, marriages, funerals and ann[illegible]s during the preliminary ceremonies. The real proceeding[illegible]hman has been worshiped with the words *Brahmāṇam tv[illegible]* The Brāhman who acts as Brahman is provided with a sea[illegible]rs, sandal and cloths are presented to him, but no in[illegible] in his favor, nor are lamps lighted, nor eatables presented, nor [illegible]mbrellas, camphor, mirrors or flags allowed. The presence of Brahman who must be represented by a Brāhman who knows the Vēda, is necessary in order to superintend and help the Purōhita in the correct recital of the mantras and the up-keep of the fire. In fact Brahman is the guardian of the sacrifice.

Śiva also cursed the Kētakī flower, but this curse concerns only Śiva, for the flower is still worshipped in honor of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, and even of Pārvatī.

is called Brahmōtsava. It is moreover wrong to assert that Brahman is only revered in one place in the whole of India, *i.e.*, near the Puṣkara lake in Ajmere. The local legend there says, that the god Brahman left once his Satyalōka to perform a sacrifice in this mundane region, but forgot to invite his consort Sarasvatī. Enraged at this discourtesy, she did not follow her husband. When Brahman had finished all the necessary preparations, and was ready to perform the Saṅkalpa, while the gods and Ṛṣis stood before the sacrificial fire, he observed to his surprise that his wife was not present. As the priests refused to go on with the sacrifice, because Brahman had not his wife by his side, Brahman requested Indra to fetch, as quickly as possible, an unmarried girl to take the place of his wife. Indra returned with a Śūdra girl, whom Brahman purified by letting her pass from the mouth through the alimentary canal of the celestial cow *Kāmadhēnu*. He then called her Gāyatrī, made her his partner and performed the sacrifice. Opposite to the temple of Brahman lies a large and deep tank, whose waters are credited with miraculous qualities. If the shadow of a woman falls during her menstrual period on the waters of this tank (*puṣkara*), it turns red and keeps this colour until purified by mantras. Brahman is in this place worshipped by his thousand names and the same formalities which are observed in the temples of Viṣṇu and Siva are also adhered to in this temple of Brahman.[11]

[11] This report was communicated to me indirectly by a Brāhman who had visited Pushkar. See *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by Lieut.-Colonel James Tod, London, 1829, Vol. I, pp. 773—75. "Poshkur is the most sacred lake in India; that of Mansurwar in Thibet may alone compete with it in this respect. By far the most conspicuous edifice is the shrine of the creator Brihma. This is the sole tabernacle dedicated to the *One God* which I ever saw or heard of in India. The statue is quadriferous and what struck me as not a little curious was that the *sikra*, or pinnacle of the temple, is surmounted by a cross." Read also the *Rajputana*

It is very peculiar that this renowned and ancient place of worship is connected like the temples at Mēlkōṭa, Puri,

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Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 67—71, which contains a full description of the legend; from it I have extracted the following; "Pushkar is a celebrated place of pilgrimage, and the great sanctity of its lake equalled, according to Colonel Tod, only by that of Manusarowar in Thibet, is due to the belief that here Brahma performed the *yajña*, and that the Sarasvati here reappears in five streams. The legends connected with these two beliefs may be found in the *Pushkar Mahātmya* of the *Padma Purana*. Brahma was perplexed as to where he should perform the sacrifice according to the Vēdas, as he had no temple on earth like other deities. As he reflected, the lotus fell from his hand, and he determined to perform his sacrifice wherever it fell. The lotus, rebounding, struck the earth in three places. Water issued from all three, and Brahma, descending, called the name of the place Pushkar, after the lotus. (The holy ground extends for one *yojan* round the largest lake, called *Jyesht Pushkar*. The second lake is the *Madhya Pushkar*, near the tank, now called *Suda Bai*. The third lake is the *Kanisht Pushkar*, which is now generally called Burka Pushkar. The middle lake is very small, and there are no buildings round it or round the third lake.) Brahma then collected all the gods, and on the 11th day of the bright half of Kārtik, everything was ready. Each god and *rishi* had his own special duty assigned to him, and Brahma stood with a jar of *amṛit* on his head. The sacrifice, however, could not begin until Sāvitrī appeared, and she refused to come without Lakshmi, Parvati and Indrāni, whom Pavan had been sent to summon. On hearing of her refusal, Brahma became enraged and said to Indra: "Search me out a girl that I may marry her and commence the sacrifice, for the jar of *amrit* weighs heavy on my head." Indra accordingly went, but found none except a Gujar's daughter whom he purified by passing her through the body of a cow, and then, bringing her to Brahma, told what he had done. Vishnu observed—"Brāhmans and cows are in reality identical; you have taken her from the womb of a cow, and this may be considered a second birth." Shiva added that, as she had passed through a cow, she should be called Gāyatri. The Brāhmans agreed that the sacrifice might now proceed, and Brahma, having married Gāyatri and having enjoined silence on her, placed on her head the jar of *amrit*, and the *yajna* commenced. (The image of Gāyatri may be seen in the temple of Brahma, close to that of Brahma himself.) The sacrifice, however, was soon interrupted by a naked man who appeared crying 'Atmat! Atmat!' and who, at the instigation of Shiva, threw a skull into the sacrificial ground. When it was attempted to remove the skull, two appeared in its place, and the whole ground gradually became covered with skulls; till Shiva, at Brahma's request, finally agreed to remove them on condition that he should have a temple at Pushkar, there to be worshipped under the name of Atmaheswar.

and Trivandrum with the lower classes, and that the Pokharna Brahmans are according to tradition Beldars, who

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Meanwhile a number of Brāhmans, all ugly men, arrived from the Dakhīn. As they bathed in the lake, their forms changed into those of handsome men; and the ghāt at which they bathed, called Surūp Ghāt, is the resort of pilgrims on the 11th day of Kārtik. On the morning of the 12th day the Brahmans came to Brahma and asked where they were to bathe. He directed them to bathe in the Prāchi Sarasvati, the stream which passes by the village of Hokran; and it is explained how the Sarasvati, after disappearing underground to escape the heat of the fire which she is carrying to the sea, reappears in five channels (as *Suprabha* which falls into Jyesht Pushkar, *Sudha* which falls into Madhya Pushkar, *Kanka* which falls into Kanisht Pushkar, *Nanda* which flows past Nand, and *Prāchi* which passes by Hokran), in the sacred soil of Pushkar, how two of these meet at Nand, five miles from Pushkar; and how from the junction, the river, thereafter called the Lūni, proceeds to the sea. The sacrifice was disturbed this day by Batu Brāhman, who let loose a snake among the Brāhmans. The reptile coiled itself round Bhrigu Rishi, whose son imprecated a curse against Batu that he might become a lake. Batu, going to his grandfather Brahma, was consoled by the promise that he should be the founder of the ninth order of snakes, and was directed to go to Nāgpahār, where he should receive worship on the fifth day of the dark half of *Sāwan* at the place called the Nāgkand. The sacrifice proceeded till the 15th each day having its appointed duties; for this day the Brāhmans were directed to make a circuit of the lakes and to bathe in Gayakup. (The virtues of the *tirth* of Gaya are said to reside in this place, whence the name.) Shortly after their return Sāvitri appeared, greatly incensed at the disregard which had been shown to her. Brahma sought to pacify her, but to no purpose, and she went away in a rage to the hill north of the lake where is her temple. After the *yajna* performed by Brahma, Pushkar became so holy that the greatest sinner, by merely bathing in it, went to heaven. Heaven became inconveniently crowded and the gods complained that no longer any man regarded them or his duty, so easy was it to get to heaven. Brahman agreed accordingly that the *tirth* should only be on earth from the 11th day of Kārtik to the full moon, and for the remainder of the year he promised to remove the *tirth* to the air (*antariksha*). Such is the legend given in the *Pushkar Mahatmya*."

Read also the short account about the temple of Brahma at Pushkar in the *Indian Caste* by Dr. John Wilson, Bombay, 1877, Vol. I, p. 170. "The Brāhmans don't directly compromise themselves by taking care of the temple (which in point of fact is under the charge of Gosāvīs); but they lay claim to a share of the offerings at the shrine. The four faces of Brahmā on the image are uniform, but they have a lengthened chin in the

obtained in return for excavating the sacred lake at Pushkar or Pokhar the favour of the god and the dignity of Brāhmans.[1 2]

Brahman has still a small but separate temple in Benares, and though there are very few temples in Northern India in which Brahman is now worshipped, there are not a few places in Southern India which possess temples dedicated to Brahman, and where he and his wife Sarasvatī receive similar honors as are offered to Viṣṇu and Śiva.

This is the case for example with the Brahma temple at Cēbrōlu in the Krishna district, which, as I am informed, was erected in imitation of the Brahma temple at Jayapuram or *Brahmagayā*, a place which is without doubt identical with Pushkar. The construction of the present temple at Cēbrōlu is ascribed to the once powerful Rājah Vāsireḍḍi Veṅkaṭādri Nāyuḍu, Zamindar of Cintapalle, who resided both at Amarāvatī and Cēbrōlu, and in whose time the ruins of the celebrated Buddhist shrine were first discovered at Amarāvatī. The temple at Cēbrōlu is situated near a pit called *Brahmaguṇḍa*. Veṅkaṭādri in the hope of finding

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place of a beard. The temple is exteriorly associated with an image of Shiva with four visible heads placed on a Linga, and must therefore be principally frequented by votaries of that God."

[2] See Dr. J. Wilson's *Indian Caste*, II, p. 171. "The tradition of their origin is singular; it is said that they were Beldārs, and excavated the sacred lake of Pushkar or Pokhar, for which they obtained the favour of the deity and the grade of Brāhmans, with the title of Pokharna. Their chief object of emblematic worship, the *Khodālā*, a kind of pick-axe used in digging, seems to favour this tradition." Compare also the *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 70. "They (the Brahmans of Pushkar) say they are descended from Parasar, the father of the Veda Vyasa, and that like the Mathura Chaubes, their names were omitted when the list of the ten Brāhmanical tribes was drawn up. They trace their descent, however, through one Bopat, and the general belief is that this Bhopat was a Mer. Brāhmans will not eat with these men, who are found only in Pushkar and in a few of the neighbouring towns of Marwar. They are generally called *Bhojak* in the papers which have been given by the Rajas on the appointment of Purohits."

a treasure began to excavate it, but being disappointed in his expectations converted the pit into a water reservoir or *Kōnēru*, in the midst of which he built after his return from Kāśi (Benares)' the temple of Brahman, on the model of the one he had seen at Jayapuram. He dedicated it to *Caturmukha Brahmā Liṅgēśvarasvāmi*, the last name being added as the temple was erected according to the Śiva Āgama, because the Āgama Śāstras do not contain measurements for a temple of Brahman. The original name of the pit Brahmaguṇḍa appears to favor the idea that previously to the erection of the temple by Veṅkaṭādri Brahman had been worshipped in this district. As the Rāja died before the commencement of the first year's ceremony, his death was regarded as a bad omen, and only daily offerings are made and lights are kept in this temple, but no periodical feasts or car festivals are observed. Veṅkaṭādri is said to have been under a curse for having treacherously beheaded 150 Centsu chiefs whom he had invited to a feast, and the immense sums of money he spent on charitable and religious purposes, he regarded as an expiation of his atrocious sin.[13]

[13] Cēbrōlu is also called *Caturmukhapuram*. This name refers to Brahman, but cannot be explained to mean "the city facing the four points of the compass" as Mr. Gordon Mackenzie states in his *Manual of the Kistna District*, p. 203; see also *ibidem*, pp. 301—13.

I am indebted for the following description to Mr. G. Campbell, Sub-Collector, Guntur, dated the 15th December 1890:—"I was at Chebrolu "yesterday, and had a look at the temple from the edge of the *kunta* in "which it stands. The temple is quite a small square building, and is in "a neglected condition. Only one out of the four Dhvajastambas is "standing, and that looks very tottery. This is a rough plan, the square "being the kunta with the temple in the middle, outside being the eight "little shrines to the Dikpalakas. As far as is known "here, this and the Brahmagaya temple are the only "Brahman temples in India."

Mr. G. Campbell kindly enclosed a report of the Cēbrōlu temple, which had been submitted to him by the late M.R.Ry. D. V. Chelapati Row, Deputy Tashildar of the Ponnur Division. The following is taken

An old and still used temple of Brahman exists in Kālahasti in the North Arcot district, I visited it in January 1886. On the top of the mountain over the temple stands a fourfaced statue of Brahman. Popular tradition declares

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from this report:—"Popular legend states that during the energetic "days of Rajah Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu he had determined to get rid "of a tribe of Chentchus who pillaged his Zamindary, and so inviting 150 "of the tribe to a feast, he had them all beheaded in the Fort at Chinta- "palli. Remorse overwhelmed him for his treachery, and whenever he sat "down to his meal the grain turned into insects. In order to remove "this curse he went on a pilgrimage to Benares and other sacred places, "built temples, erected numerous pillars before various shrines, besides "making charities. He made Chebrole his second residence, Amaravati "being the first. At this place (Chebrole) there had been a small pit "called Brahmagundam, about which was said to have been buried gold "grains of immense quantity and a Bhairava idol was fixed to guard the "treasure. He (the Zamindar) made excavations for the hidden treasure "to considerable extent, and having at the end been disappointed, he "converted the pit, including the Brahmagunda, into a reservoir called "Koneru, and in the middle constructed a temple dedicated to the worship "of Chaturmukha Brahma Lingesvarasvami as such a temple had no exist- "ence elsewhere in this part of the country, and he gave the name of "Chaturmukhapuram to the place which has had several other names, "viz., Chebrole, Jayabrole, Tambrapani. The idol is of the following "description: The Lingam was first fixed in a red Chintamani stone most "beautifully carved in the form of a lotus (kamalam) of 1,000 petals, "underneath which is a raised seat called Peetam. On four sides of the "Lingam four separate Brahma images equal in size and equal in all other "respects were carved; each image has two legs and four hands. Of the "four hands two are empty, while of the other two, one contains a garland "(japamala) and the other a tumbler (kamandal). The Lingam is about "three inches higher than the Brahma images. The temple has four "gates. On the four sides and corners of the reservoir eight small temples "were built for the worship of the following deities: 1. North, Venu "Gopalasvami, and his Ammavaru, North-east; 2. South, Ranganayakulu, "and his Ammavaru Nanchari, South-east; 3. East, Chandramaulesvara- "svami, and his Ammavaru, South-east; 4. West, Sahasra Lingesvara- "svami, and his Ammavaru, North-east. (Mr. Campbell assigns these "8 temples to the Dikpalakas, which is very possible.) The Ammavaru "temples are falling down and the pillars of gilt fixed on the four sides "of the Brahma temple are in ruins. The temple has an endowment "of Ac. 29, 90 Ch. The title deeds bear the name of Chaturmukha Brahma "Lingesvarasvami. The worshippers are Pujaris and worship Brahma with

that this hill is really the *Śivānandanilaya,* the highest peak of the Kailāsa, which Brahman transferred in ancient times to Kālahasti. Of the four faces of Brahman the one which looks towards the south has fangs instead of teeth.

"Namakam, Chamakam and with Sivanamamulu after the Smarta fashion. "No kind of periodical and car festivals are celebrated except making "daily offerings and lightings, &c. The non-celebration is said to be due "to the bad omen, as the Zamindar who constructed the temple and the "car at a great cost having died before the commencement of the first "year's ceremony.

"I hear there is another Brahma temple at Jayapuram in the north. It "is called Brahmagaya. The temple there is said to be in a tank.

"Brahma images similar to those at Chebrole were carved on a Lingam "and worshipped. Venkatadri Naidu appears to have built the temple "after he had seen the one at Jayapuram when he went to Benares on "pilgrimage and named the place Chaturmukham, meaning Brahmapuram. "I doubt therefore that Chaturmukhapuram means the city facing the "four points of the compass, as Mr. Mackenzie calls it." (I had intimated this previously as my opinion in a letter to Mr. Campbell.)

"The addition Lingesvarasvami to Brahma appears to have been added "for the following reason. Temples are built according to the Agama "Sastram, which treats of the measurement of the several temples. This "Sastram is of four sorts with regard to Siva, Vishnu, Sakti and "Ganapati. No Agamam is known to exist which treats of measurements "regarding temples dedicated to Brahma, and hence no temple of such "sort has been constructed; but Venkatadri Naidu having the vanity to "excel the other Rajahs in charity and in the construction of temples, con-"structed this temple partly arbitrarily and partly with Siva Agamam and "made the addition Lingesvarasvami to Brahma."

It is probable that there was originally at Cēbrōlu an old Brahma temple, and that Veṅkaṭādri rebuilt this shrine to revive the worship. With respect to the temple at Jayapuram, whose construction was imitated by the Rajah of Cēbrōlu, it is not clear which Jayapura (Jaipur) is meant. There is a well known town of this name in the Vizagapatam District, and another rather more famous place of the same name lies in Rājaputāna not far from the above-mentioned Pushkar in the Ajmere District where the famous Brahma temple is situated. This temple is most probably the one alluded in the above printed report.

It must also not be forgotten that a Brahma temple exists at Benares and that Veṅkaṭādri visited this town previously to his building the Brahma temple at Cēbrōlu. His death prevented that a special Brahma worship was introduced, and was the cause of the adoption of the Smārta ceremonial. Rāja Vāsireḍḍi Veṅkaṭādri Nāyuḍu died in 1816.

Special priests perform daily the prescribed worship in this Brahmadēvālaya whose idol goes by the name of *Maṇikarṇikēśvara*.

In Kuttanūr near Māyavaram the temples of Brahman and Sarasvatī face each other, and Brāhman priests worship these two gods as Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, or Śiva and Pārvatī are adored in their respective pagodas. A big temple of Brahman, I am told, exists at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and one devoted to Sarasvatī as *Jñānāmbikā* is at Tiruvālūr.[14] Vēdāraṇyam possesses likewise a temple dedicated to the same goddess. Brahman's image occupies an honored place in the temple of Koḍumuḍi near Erode, at Tirukkaṇḍiyūr near Tiruvādi, in the Uttamarkōvil near Śrīraṅgam, at Śālyamaṅgalam and Kīḻa Vaḻuttūr near Aiyampēṭṭai in the Tanjore district, at Kumbhakōnam and elsewhere. Some contend that there is an image of Brahman in every temple of Śiva at the place where the purified water, poured out over the head of Śiva, or over the liṅga inside, escapes through the channel.[15]

On the Brahmabhūta.

Among the population on the West coast, especially among the Tulus, where the devil-worship prevails, Brahman is not only revered as a god, but also as a spirit or Bhūta. In fact all castes worship him, and he is universally adored; he has in reality his special place of worship in

[14] This shrine at Tiruvālūr must not be mistaken for that dedicated to Kamalāmbā, which belongs to the Tyāgarājasvāmi temple, within whose precincts is also a famous well, known as Sarasvatītīrtham.

[15] A temple covered in the sand near the confluence of the Kāvēri and Amarāvati not far off from Karūr, is by some ascribed to Brahman, by others to Śiva. According to a legend the god Varadarājasvāmin in Kāñcīpuram arose from the flames of a sacrifice performed by Brahman over the Hastiśaila, on which the present garbhagṛha stands.

I am indebted for a great part of this information concerning the worship of Brahman in South India to my former pupil and young friend Mr. Naḍādūr V. Dēśikācāryār, M.A.

nearly every big landed estate. At Śirva, Brahman is represented with four heads, his image is about 2 feet high and is made of *Pañcalōha* or the five metals, gold, silver, copper, tin and lead. He rides on the goose or haṁsa in the usual position, one of his hands holding a water jar, while the other has a rosary or *japamālā*, and the two remaining are folded on the chest and contain the Sālagrāma. The officiating Brahman or *bhaṭṭa* enters the temple daily after his bath with a water jar and pours the water over the image. He then fills, while muttering the usual mantras, the holy śaṅkha with water and sprinkles the latter over the image. This done, he puts sandal and a garland on the head of the idol and offers some cooked rice to the god. These ceremonies occupy about three hours. The evening service is the same but only shorter, it lasts about two hours. The neighbouring Brāhmans and Śūdras celebrate every year a great festival, during which the image of Brahman is carried about within the precints of the temple and a special pūjā is performed.[16]

[16] The Rev. Ch. Gojār at Śirva near Udapi, gave the following information to Rev. G. Ritter who sent me this report in German through the Rev. F. Kittel:—"Eine halbe Stunde westlich von Schirwa steht in einem Thal, *Wara sare* genannt, ein Tempel, in welchem ein Bild Brahmas, der 4 Gesichter hat, angebetet wird. Dasselbe ist gegen 2' hoch and besteht aus Pantschaloha. Brahma sitzt da auf dem Vogel Hamsa. Zwei seiner Hände hebt er zur Achsel empor, in der einen ein Wassergefäss, in der andern einen Rosenkranz (Japamala) haltend. Die beiden andern Hände hat er vor seiner Brust gefaltet and hält zugleich darin den heiligen Stein (Salagrama). Der diensthuende Brahmane (Bhatta) geht täglich nach seinem üblichen Bad mit einem Wassergefäss in den Tempel und giesst das Wasser über das Bild. Dann füllt er, während er Shastras hersagt seine heilige Muschel (*shanka* genannt) mit Wasser und sprengt dasselbe auf das Bild. Hierauf legt er etwas Sandalholz (mehl ?) und einen Blumenkranz auf des Götzen Kopf und setzt ihm eine Portion gekochten Reises vor. Alles dies nimt jeden Morgen 3 Stunden in Anspruch. Den Abenddienst, der dem des Morgens fast gleich ist, absolviert er in 2 Stunden. Ausserdem kommen die Tempelvorsteher, die benachbarten Brahmanen und auch eine Anzahl Shudras älljährlich einmal hier zu einen Fest zusam-

The Brahma-image in the temple at Kuñjar has only three faces, and is therefore regarded by some as a representation of a Brahmabhūta.

The Brahmabhūta must not be confounded with a *Brahmarākṣasa*, the latter being the evil spirit of a dead Brāhman.

Wherever the divine nature of Brahman prevails, Brāhmans perform the worship, even dancing at his service, while low caste persons generally dance in honor of the Brahamabhūtas. The festival of the superior Brahman is called a *maṇḍala*, while that of a Brahmabhūta or of every bhūta is known as a *kōla*. The drawing on the floor for such a *maṇḍala* consists of black, white, red, green, and yellow colours and is made by the Jakkedākulus who occupy in consequence at

men. Bei dieser Gelegenheit wird das Brahmabild in Tempelhof herumgetragen und ein besonderer Puja (Anbetung) wird verrichtet.

"Solche Brahmabilder finden sich im Udapi-bezirk; noch einige, z. B., in Kanjar, Bolle, Nandolige, &c. Doch ist zu bemerken, dass z. B. das Bild in Kanjar nur 3 Gesichter hat, und darum mehr als *Brahmabhuta* betrachtet wird. Der herunter geschlagene 4te Kopf des Brahma, so wird erzählt, habe zu Parameshvara gefleht, der ihm dann rieht auf die Erde herabzusteigen und sich den Bhutas anzuschliessen. So seien die Brahmabhutas entstanden. Ein solcher hat menschliche Gestalt und reitet auf einem Pferd ein Schwert in seiner rechten Hand haltend. Er wird täglich von Brahmanen, aber auch von Shudras angebetet. Die Shastras, die dabei gebraucht werden, sind aber verschieden von denen, welche man für den Brahma-Gott benutzt. Es wird ihm nur ungekochter Reis vorgesetzt; aber auch sein Kopf wird mit Sandelholz und Blumen bestreut. auch wird Rauchwerk vor ihm verbrannt. See Note 20 on p. 303.

"Ausserdem gibt es Brahmabilder die von den Rischis herstammen sollen, und darum regelmässig verehrt werden. Ferner finden sich da und dort gestaltlose Brahmasteine, bei welchen jedoch kein täglicher Dienst stattfindet; z. B., ¾ Stunden westlich von Udapi ist ein solcher Stein, zu welchem vielleicht das Jahr einmal ein Vishnubild gebracht und dort verehrt wid. Sie sind meist mit Naga-steinen vereint und werden nie für den Brahmgott, sondern nur für Brahmabhuten angesehen. Auch in den gewöhnlichen Bhutatempeln findet sich der Brahmabhuta, genannt *Berme*.

"Als Grund der Verehrung das gestürzten Brahms wird geltend gemacht, das die alten Rishis gleichfalls nach seinem Fall ihn anbeteten."

present a respectable position, but who were originally Holeyas or Paraiyas. Everything else for the maṇḍala is done by Brāhmans. A Brāhman becomes possessed of Brahman and to him he vouchsafes his oracles. The offering or *bali* consists of fruits and various condiments. Brahman is addressed as Ṣvāmi Bermere, and not like the other gods as Svāmi Dēverē. The people pray to him as follows: We have been remiss in thy worship, spare us; remove graciously from us all evil, give us health for our body, increase [illegible] wealth in the house and on the field. The Brāhman then [illegible] his pūjā, and recites the following mantram: "*Uddi!* I revere the sunlike, three-eyed Nārāyaṇa, who is shining with the ornament of the serpent-prince, who is honoured by the skull held in his hand, who is armed with a chisel and a white lotus, who has anklets provided with golden bells and who is facing (me), the lord of the Bhūtas, who removes fear, has four faces and is called Brahman.[17]

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[17] *Uddi, bhāskarasamam trinayanam nārāyaṇam nāgēndrabhūṣōjjvalam hastādattakapālamaparitasanmukham bhūtēśam śvētābjaṭaṅkāyudham kāñcanakiṅkiṇinupūritasanmukham bhūtēśam hayaharam caturānanam brahmābhidhānam bhajē.*"

Rev. M. Schaible writes from Karkal: "Ueber den Ursprung des Brahma, im Volksmunde Berme, wegen seiner Verwandtschaft mit den Nāgas oft auch Nāga-Brahma genannt, sagen die Leute: in alten Zeiten hätten Brahma and Shiwa 5 Angesicht besessen. Um ihrer Aehnlichkeit willen sei einstens Schiwas Weib, Parvati, einmal bei ihrem Erscheinen in einer Götterversammlung in grosse Verlegenheit geraten, da sie, ausser Stande, ihren Gemahl und Brahma voneinander zu unterscheiden, nicht gewusst habe, zu welchem von beiden sie sich setzen solle. Schiwa, der ihre Verlegenheit und den Grund derselben erkannte, hieb, um ihr ins künftige derartiges zu ersparen, dem Brahma ein Haupt ab. Als dieses hierauf den Schiwa über die Art and Weise seiner Weiterexistenz um Rat und Hilfe anging, erhielt es die Weisung sich unter seine Ganas zu begeben, auf die Erde zu gehen, die Menschen zu plagen und so sich seinen Unterhalt zu verschaffen und seine Fortexistenz zu sichern."

"Brahma geniesst allgemeine Verehrung von allen Kasten. Die Leute halten ihn für den Urheber von Augenentzündung Hautauschlag und hauptsächlich von Kinderlosigkeit. In Nandolige und Mala hat er zwei grössere Tempel, doch stehen diese ihrer Grösse nach in keinerle,

The worship of Brahman and his eventual absorption into a Brahmabhūta shows the influence which the aboriginal inhabitants of India exercised over the Aryan invaders. Brahman becomes half god, half bhūta; he is regarded as such inferior to a *nāga*, but superior to the common *bhūta*. A legend asserts that the fifth head of Brahman, after being

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Verhältniss zu anderen grossen Hindutempeln. Sonst finden sich kleine Tempelchen, *Brahmasthāna* oder *Bermeregunda* genannt auf dem Gute nahezu jedes grösseren Gutsbesitzers, der eignen Grund und Boden hat. In dem Nandolige Tempel findet sich kein Bild, in dem in Mala dagegen ist Brahma aus Stein gehauen, in Menschengestalt auf einem Pferde reitend dargestellt. Die übrigen fast zahllosen kleinen Tempelchen enthalten entweder ebenfalls Brahma in Menschengestalt, oder auch nur einen rohen oder nur ganz oberflächlich behauenen Stein. Bei dem Nandolige-Tempel findet jährlich im Zusammenhang mit einem Bhuten und einem Götzenfest ein grösseres Fest statt, zu dem Leute von nahe und fern gewallfahrtet kommen um dem Brahma ihre Gelübde, die sie ihm in den Tagen der Krankheit gelobt hatten, zu entrichten. Sonst findet an jedem Sankranti ein Puja statt. In dem Mala-Tempel wird täglich Puja gemacht, das am Freitag einen etwas feierlichern Character trägt. Die gleiche Ordnung fand ich in *Mudar*, wo dem Brahma, der dort ganz im Freien kampirt, und bloss in einem wenig behauenen Granitstein dargestellt ist, ebenfalls täglichen Dienst verrichtet wird. In den oben erwähnten vielen kleinen Tempelchen wird nur alle Monate gepujat; nur im Monat Sōna täglich oder einige Male in der Woche. Bei jeder Puja wird eine Lampe angezündet, Blumen, Reis und Sandelholzpulver vorgesetzt. Seinem Wesen nach ist dieser Brahma halb Gott, halb Bhuta. Er steht niedriger als die Nagas und höher als die Bhutas. In seiner Eigenschaft als Gott kann nur der Brahmane ihm Puja machen und ergreift er bei Festlichkeiten nur von diesem Besitz, aber nie von einem andern niedern Kastenmann. Während dem Bhuten ein *kōla*, wird dem Brahma ein sogenanntes *Maṇḍala* oder *Barmadabali* dargebracht. Die Zeichnung zu diesem Maṇḍala hat eine ursprünglich niedere, jetzt aber durch ihren Dienst zu Ansehen gekommene Kaste (die *Jakkedakalu*) auf dem Boden vor dem Tempel zu entwerfen, wobei 5 Farben, schwarz, weis, rot, grün und gelb zur Verwendung kommen. Das Uebrige bei dem Maṇḍala kann nur ein Brahmane besorgen, von dem der Brahma Besitz ergreift und dann Orakel gibt. Das *bali* besteht in einer Darbringung von Früchten und verschiedenen Gewürzen. Beim Gebet zu diesem Brahma sagen die Leute: 'Wir fehlen gar viel in deiner Verehrung, verzeihe. Wende gnädig alles Uebel ab, gib Gesundheit dem Leib und mehre den Reichthum im Haus und auf dem Feld.' Die Anrede lautet nicht wie bei den andern Göttern—*Svāmi dēverē* sondern *Svāmi bermerē*.

cut off, prayed to Paramēśvara, who advised it to descend to the earth and to associate with the bhūtas. According to a Tulu tradition the present Brahman (Bermere, Berume, Baruma, Bermā or Bomma) is only a portion of Brahman united with the serpent god (*nāga dēvaru*). Śivá is said to have been jealous because Brahman had four faces and eight eyes, while he had only three. He therefore cut off one of these four heads, and when this head asked him what he should do, Śiva told him to unite itself with the serpent (*nāga*), torment mankind and to extort thus offerings from them. In Baḍakay Lōkanād Brahman's head appeared first as a nāga, and there it was worshipped. When I was visiting the Buddha temple at Kotahēnu, a suburb of Colombo, I saw a figure of Brahman with three heads which I originally took to have four heads, the fourth being behind and thus of course invisible. But the temple-servant particularly declared that Brahman had only three heads, one representing the past, the other the present, and the third the future.[18] This legend I heard also confirmed by other Ceylonese Buddhists. At Kandy in the Māligāva Temple or the Shrine of the Sacred Tooth is a picture of Brahman as *Mahābrahmarāja*, or as king of heaven—known as Brahmalōka or Satyalōka.[19] He has only one head, and

[18] *Tivata* is one of the Ceylonese names of Brahman. Its meaning and derivation are not clearly known. It can be connected with the Sanskrit words *trivṛtta* (*trivṛt*) and *trivaktra*. The High Priest of Adam's Peak and President of the Vidyodaya College in Colombo, Hikkoduwe Sumangala Terunnanse, thinks that it is derived from trivṛtta, and explains it as denoting *Karmavṛtta*, *Klēśavṛtta* and *Vipākavṛtta*. If *vaṭa* stands for *vaktra*, *trivaktra* would mean three-faced.

[19] According to Hindu cosmology there exist fourteen worlds, seven above and seven below the earth. The highest and best world Satyalōka is under the rule of Brahman, and is therefore also called Brahmalōka, while it is at times also assigned to Śiva and then named *Śivalōka*; the Kūrmapurāṇa identifies Brahmalōka also with a Viṣṇulōka. The lowest and worst world is *Pātāla*, it is under the rule of *Yama*, and hence also known

one-headed he also appears in the neighbouring Mahādēvale temple. Biesdes the statue of Buddha there are in this shrine the images of Viṣṇu and of Śiva, respectively on the left and right hand side of the entrance door, and a one-headed Brahman is painted standing on the left side on the wall near Buddha. On my asking for an explanation, I was told that this one-headed Brahman represents the present time. The existence of a one-headed Brahman is

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as Yamalōka. The seven nether worlds are 1. *Atala*, 2. *Vitala*, 3. *Sutala*, 4. *Rasātala*, 5. *Talātala*, 6. *Mahātala* and 7. *Pātāla*, (the 4th, 5th and 6th hells are also respectively called 4. Nitala, 5 Dharātala and Mahātala, and 6. Talātala). It is perhaps worth noticing that also other sects, *e.g.*, the Muhammedans believe in the existence of seven hells. The seven upper worlds are 1. *Bhūrlōka*, the earth, occupied by men, 2. *Bhuvarlōka*, the space between earth and sun, occupied by Munis, Siddhas, &c., 3. *Suvarlōka* (*Svarlōka*), or *Dēvalōka*, between the sun and the polestar, or Dhruva, heaven of Indra with the 330,000,000 gods. The Viṣṇupurāṇa calls it the abode of Viṣṇu, where Dharma, Dhruva and the Yōgis reside. 4. *Maharlōka* extends one krore of yōjanas beyond the polestar, residence of Bhṛgu and of other sages, who survive the annihilation of the three lower worlds, 5. *Janalōka* (*Janōlōka*) occupied by the mind-born sons of Brahman as Sanandana, the Ṛṣis, and the demigods. 6. *Tapōlōka* is the residence of the Vairāgis, and 7. *Satyalōka* (Brahmalōka) is the abode of Brahman, whoever reaches this heaven is exempted from further birth. The first of these three upper worlds are destroyed at the end of a Kalpa or a day of Brahman, though the *fourth* outlasts the *kalpa*, it remains uninhabited during the conflagration raging below, for no one can endure the heat and its occupants repair to the next or Janōlōka. The last three are annihilated at the end of the life or the 100th year of Brahman. The Dēvibhāgavata (IX, III, 8, ff.) contends that the Brahmāṇḍa contains the seven nether and the seven upper worlds, which at the time of a general destruction become a watery bubble. The Vaikuṇṭha and Gōlōka-heavens, which lie beyond the Brahmāṇḍa, and are eternal, remain intact. Each of these fourteen worlds is 50,000,000,000,000,000 miles long and 25,000,000,000,000,000 miles broad. The fourteen worlds occupy therefore a space of 17,500 Quinquillions of square miles. The mountain *Mahāmēru* passes through all these 14 worlds. There are besides seven immense seas. The Mahāmēru together with the fourteen worlds is carried by the eight elephants: Airāvata, Puṇḍarīka, Vāmana, Kumuda, Añjana, Puṣpadanta, Sārvabhauma and Supratīka, and by the eight serpents: Ananta, Vāsuki, Dakṣa, Takṣaka, Karkōṭaka, Saṅga, Kulika and Mahāpadma, but instead of these eight serpents some mention only the one thousand-headed Śēṣa.

rather surprising, if we consider that Brahman as Brahmabhūta is represented with one head, and that this Mahādēvāle temple, though Buddhistic in all other respects, contains Hindu gods, which may perhaps have been imported by non-Aryan Indians. The old Tamil rulers of Ceylon compelled thus their Buddhistic subjects to erect a shrine of Subrahmaṇya or Kandasvāmi (Kanda) near every Buddhistic temple, and this custom is observed to this day.

The *nāga dēvaru* is worshipped like this Brahman, but must not be confounded with Subrahmaṇya (*Subrāya dēvaru*) who is likewise revered under the image of a serpent.[20]

Brahman is among the Tulus regarded as the cause of eye-disease, skin-disease and childlessness, he is even feared as the originator of all evil, but also adored as their remover.

[20] Rev. Jacob Goetz wrote thus from Karkal:—"Der Siva Gott sei einst darüber neidisch geworden, dass der Brahma Gott 4 Gesichter somit 8 Augen habe, während er ihrer nur 3 besässe, und habe ihm desshalb einen Kopf abgeschlagen. Als ihn dann dieser abgeschlagene Kopf gefragt habe, waser denn nun anfangen solle, dann habe ihm dieser Siva geantwortet, er solle sich mit dem Nāga, der Schlange, vereinigen, die Menschen plagen und sich von ihnen Gaben und Opfer bringen lassen. So sei er denn als Schlange (Nāga) zuerst im Badakay Lokanad aufgetretn und verehrt worden, weiter würde ihm dann auch in Mala am Fusse der Ghats und in Nandolige ein Tempelchen (Bermere gunda) gebaut. Auch privatim wird er von allen Kasten ohne Unterschied verehrt und zwar mehr in der Art eines Bhuta als eines Gottes. Auch versieht den Tanz oder Dienst meist nur ein Brahmine, während bei den gemeinen Bhutas meist nur geringere Kasten sich zum tanzen und sprechen hergeben. Das Fest, das ihm zu Ehren gefeiert wird, heisst wie das des Nāga *Maṇḍala*, während das Fest eines Gottes *Āyana* heisst, und das eines Bhūta *Kōla*. Sein Bild ist das eines Menschen mit einem 7 fachen Schlangenkopfe über seinem Haupt, andere sagen es seien dies *matted and twisted hair*. Der gewöhnliche *Nāga dēvaru*, der in derselben Weise auch ohne Verbindung mit diesem Brahma verehrt wird, ist nicht zu verwechseln mit dem Subrāya Dēvaru, der auch unter dem Bild der Schlange, aber eigentlich als Gott verehrt wird." See note on p. 298 about the statue of Brahman in Kanjar.

A Brahmabhūta has human form, and rides on horseback holding a sword in his right hand. His head is covered with matted and twisted hair, which is by some taken as a head of seven snakes. Brāhmans as well as Śūdras pay him daily worship, but mantras addressed to him differ from those offered to Brahman. Uncooked rice is presented to him, his head is covered with sandal and flowers, and incense is burnt to him.

The Brahma temple at Māla contains a big stone image of Brahman riding as a man on horseback. While there is no such figure in the temple at Nandolige, the innumerable smaller temples in the country contain either such images, or in their stead rude or roughly hewn stones. A great festival of Brahmadi is yearly celebrated at Nandolige among a huge conflux of people. Crowds throng to this temple to thank the god, and to offer him the presents they had promised him in the days of their distress or sickness. There is also divine service or a pūjā at every Saṅkrānti. In the temple at Māla, Brahman is daily worshipped, and the service on Fridays is specially ceremonious. In the smaller temples (Brahmasthāna or Bermere guṇḍa) worship is celebrated once a month, but during the month of Sōṇa, the service is either daily or on certain days of the week.

There exist also images of Brahman which are traced back to the Ṛṣis and which, out of respect for them, are regularly worshipped, especially as the Ṛṣis adored Brahman even after his fall.

Besides these images of Brahman there are the well-known Brahma-stones, which must not be forgotten. They are found in great numbers in Kanara, especially among the Tulu population. Such stones are generally rude and unhewn. They are as a rule not daily worshipped, but at the granite stone at Mudar near Karkal, Brahman is daily

revered in the same manner as in the Māla temple, eight miles east of Karkal. Once a year the image of Viṣṇu is carried to a similar stone, which lies about three miles from Uḍapi. The castes of the Bārikēras and Talavāras have a peculiar custom. They draw a circle with pipeclay about half or a foot in diameter and make in the middle of it a point⊙. This point represents Brahman. All people are requested to pour oil on this stone, and to offer to it cocoanuts: in short they honor it with divine worship. Stones lying near the gates of a village or of a town, or which belong to such gates, are generally thus marked. The Rev. Mr. Kittel informs me that he has also seen this Bomma (Brahma) mark drawn on rocks near inhabited places. Such Brahma-stones are often combined with Nāga stones and are therefore rather representations of Brahmabhūtas than of Brahman.[21]

The Brahma-stones are no doubt connected with the [illegible] worship in vogue among the Gauḍa-Dravidians, to which I have already alluded when speaking of the Kurumbas and Kunbis.[22] In the riding Brahmabhūta I recognize

[21] The Rev. F. Kittel of Mercara, to whom I am indebted for most of the information obtained from *Kanara*, writes to me:—"Aus Süd Mahratta erbat ich mir einen genauen Bericht über Brahma von einem befreundeten alten und intelligenten Eingebornen. Seine kanaresische Antwort lautet in Übersetzung wie folgt. Die Kasten der *Bārikēras* und *Talavāras* zeichnen (mit einer [illegible] Pfeifenerde) einen Kreis von etwa einem halben bis ganzen Fuss [illegible] Dummesser auf einen rohen Stein, und machen [illegible] mit einem [illegible] e Mitte, so ⊙. Dies thun sie, um den Gott Br[illegible] oder B[illegible]rahma) darzustellen, und fordern so alle Leute auf, ihm [illegible] zu giessen, Kokosnüsse zu opfern, &c., kurz ihm göttlic[illegible] erweisen. Hauptsächlich zeichnen sie die obige Form [illegible] teine, die gerade vor dem Thore eines Dorfes oder [illegible] en oder sich im Thore selbst befinden, oder in nicht [illegible] vom Thore liegen. Ausser den zwei obengenannten K[illegible]runne die Gestalt des Bomma.' So weit der Eingeborne; [illegible]t liesen Bomma auch an Felsen in der Nähe von Ortsc[illegible]ion v[illegible]

[22] See pp. 1[illegible] [illegible]ns these ste[illegible]

a resemblance to the Khaṇḍōba (Khaṇḍe Rāo) of the Marātha country, who in his turn is most probably identical with the Aiyanār of Southern India. Of the latter I shall speak hereafter. The identity of these chief popular deities, if confirmed, goes a long way to prove from a religious point of view the national coherence of the principal aboriginal tribes of India, and this result is so important because it coincides all along with the already adduced philological evidence.

CHAPTER XV.

On Visnu.

Visnu represents in contradistinction to the more abstract nature of Brahman, the bodily incarnate deity to which men cling with fervour in times of affliction and despair. He became in fact the popular god of post Vedic India. Many tribal deities which resembled him, and which had been in reality mostly only deified heroes, were united in his worship and appeared eventually only as attributes among the thousand names by which he is worshipped. The cult of Śiva offers a similar example. Visnu is an instance of a god of originally secondary importance rising to supreme dignity, because the Brahmanical priesthood required a god round whom the people could gather, as a counterpoise against the propagation of Buddhism. This being the case, Buddhism must have preceded Vaisnavism.

Visnu, the second [illegible] of the Trimūrti, appears, as we have already seen, a[illegible] the Rg-Vēda, and though in a subordinate p[illegible]e is called the intimate friend of Indra, who [illegible]he fight against Vṛtra, and with whom he dr[illegible]ice. He is also often associated with Pūsan, a[illegible]he Sōm[illegible]. He performed the celebrated three steps, [illegible]other [illegible]uence called Trivikrama. Through [illegible]d [illegible]ntified with the sun. [illegible]malt g[illegible]ferring to the

sun's three-fold existence in the earth, in the atmosphere and in the sky, but Aurṇavābha prefers to explain them as referring to the hill where the sun rises, to the meridian sky, and to the hill where he sets. The three aspects of the Egyptian sun-god bear thus some resemblance to the steps of Viṣṇu. In fact, Viṣṇu is a solar deity or an Āditya, or one of the six, seven, eight, or twelve sons of Aditi. He appears on this earth at critical moments in various shapes, as a fish, as a tortoise, a dwarf, &c. Some of these divine manifestations are already mentioned in the Vēda, and are there ascribed not to Viṣṇu but to other gods, to Prajāpati and to Brahman, but they have been eventually tranferred to Viṣṇu. When Brahman's supremacy was declining, the ascendancy of Viṣṇu increased. He was thus identified with the Supreme Spirit, and Brahman and Mahādēva are regarded as having originated from him. However, in a different place he is called an offspring of Mahādēva, and appears sometimes as his friend, at others as his enemy. Manifold are the stories told of Viṣṇu, but the goodness of his disposition is the principal characteristic of most. He pervades and preserves the whole of Nature, and his essence fills at his pleasure every object, in fact he is everywhere. He appears in each different yuga in a different garb, in the Kṛtayuga as the wise teacher *Kapila*, in the Trētā as punishing *Cakravartin*, in the Dvāpara as the Vēda-dividing *Vēda Vyāsa*, and in the Kali as the order re-establishing *Kalki*. Nothing is in this respect too small or insignificant for him. He honors with his presence the Sālagrāma-stone as well as the Tulasī plant; he descends into the Gaṅgā river as well as into common animals like a fish, a boar, or a tortoise; he is personated by a dwarf or a monstrous creature as well as by men of the highest merit, like Paraśurāma or Rāma, the son of Daśaratha. All these various shapes he mainly assumes in order to save mankind from impending evil. As the world is often in danger of

becoming a prey to bad and unscrupulous spirits, be they demons or men, Viṣṇu has to appear repeatedly in various disguises to frustrate their evil intentions.[23]

Brahman is only rarely incarnated, the Brāhmans are regarded as its principal representatives on earth. Later legends ascribe to Śiva various incarnations to the number of twenty-five, and though these seem to be invented to counterbalance those of Viṣṇu, they do not equal them in importance, for the manifestations of Śiva are less known and less influential than those of Viṣṇu. Different expressions are also used to distinguish between the incarnations of the three great gods of the Trimūrti, the terms *vibhūti*, *avatāra* and *līlā* being respectively used for those of Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva.[24] Indra, Vayu, Agni, Sēṣa and other gods have assumed the forms of other persons, yet these personations do not reach the high level of the avatāras of Viṣṇu. Comparable with the descents of Viṣṇu, however, are those of Buddha, who, though afterwards figuring among the incarnations of Viṣṇu, claims to have appeared in many forms before he was born as a king's son in Kapilavastu. Regarding, as I do, the rise and success of Buddhism as mainly due to the antagonism existing between the ruling Aryan and the oppressed Turanian or Gauda-Dravidian population, it strikes me as by no means improbable that the incarnation doctrine may in India have originated among the Gauda-Dravidians independently

[23] See Dēvībhāgavata, III. 6, 39-40.

39. Yadā yadā hi kāryam vō bhaviṣyati duratyayam,
karişyati pṛthivyām vai avatāram tadā Harēḥ.
40. Tiryagyōnāvathānyatra manuṣīm tanum āśṛtaḥ,
Dānavānām vināśam vai karişyati Janārdanaḥ.

[24] According to the following passage from *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*:

Paraśaktēḥ prabhāvēna Brahmaviṣṇuśivādayaḥ
īśvarā jagataḥ sādhyē svakarmāṇyācaranti hi;
Brahmaṇaḥ sarjanam karma Viṣṇōḥ pālanam ucyatē
saṁhāraḥ tatra Rudrasya vibhūtir Brahmaṇaḥ smṛtā
Avātārāḥ tathā Viṣṇōḥ līlāḥ Śambhōr udīritāḥ.

of any Aryan influence, as we see it at a very early period appear among the kindred Akkadians on the shores of the Persian Gulf.

To Viṣṇu are generally attributed only ten avatāras, but this number was soon exceeded, and twenty-four or even a greater number of incarnations were eventually ascribed to him. In fact as innumerable as are the creatures of the creation, so innumerable also are regarded the manifestations of Viṣṇu. I believe, however, that the original number was ten, and that the remaining fourteen must be regarded as additions. The order in which these different divine descents appeared, is manifest from the various readings of the Ślōkas which enumerate them. One stanza runs as follows:

Matsyaḥ Kūrmō Varāhaśca Narasiṁhaśca Vāmanaḥ.
Rāmō Rāmaśca Rāmaśca Kṛṣṇō Buddhō Janārdanaḥ.

Others read after *Rāmaśca:* Kṛṣṇaḥ Kalkir Janārdanaḥ, or Buddaḥ Kalkika ēva ca, or Buddhaḥ Kalki ca tē daśa, etc. The first stanza omits Kalki, the second Buddha, and the third and fourth omit Kṛṣna.[25] As the Kalki or horse-avatāra is the only manifestation of Viṣṇu which is yet to come, we may perhaps be allowed to assume that its conception originated at a later period than the tradition which omits it.

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[25] These ten avatāras are generally known as the fish-, tortoise-, boar-, Narasiṁha-, dwarf-, Paraśurāma-, Rāma-, Balarāma-, (Kṛṣṇa-), Buddha- and horse-avatāras.

These minor or upa-avatāras are the following: Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatsujāta, Sanatkumāra, Naranārāyaṇa, Kapila, Vṛṣabhayōgin, Nārada, Hayagrīva, Dattātrēya, Mōhinī (or Māyā), Yajñapati, Vyāsa and Dhanvantari. Some of the avatāras are as it were localised. According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa Viṣṇu resides in the country of Bhadrāśva as the horse-headed Hayaśiras, in Kētumāli as the boar Varāha, in Jaṭāta as the tortoise Kūrma, and in Kuru as the fish Matsya. In (Madras edition, p. 44) the Srīnivāsācārya, a pupil of Doddamahācārya, the number of the avatāras of Viṣṇu is fixed at [illegible] (padmanābhaṭṭrṁśadavatārāḥ santi).

There is no doubt that the first two incarnations have a cosmological meaning; the third[26] is perhaps of the same nature, or, as it had two different versions, may with the fourth and fifth allude to the fights between the gods and the asuras, or rather to the attempts to firmly establish the worship of the Aryan deities in India by subduing the aborigines and superseding their religion. The avatāra of Paraśurāma indicates the contention between the religious fervour of the Aryans and the brute force of the aboriginal races. I prefer this explanation to the accepted tradition, according to which the priestly Brāhmans exterminated in war the Aryan warrior caste of the Kṣatriyas. Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, represents the extension of Aryan power and civilisation from the North to the South of India. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa show the high state of development attained in political and religious fields degenerating into civil dissension; and in Buddha we have the strife transplanted to religious ground caused by the popular reaction against Brahmanic priestcraft, which reaction, however, was not successful in the end. Such a historical explanation of the order of the avatāras of Viṣṇu will, if proved to be correct, approximately settle the time of the origin of this Vaiṣṇava doctrine. By mentioning Buddha as the last incarnation of Viṣṇu, this dogma must have been conceived considerably after his time, when the belief in the power of Viṣṇu was in the ascendant. A similar view has already been expressed by Lassen in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*. According to the Vaiṣṇava belief *Viṣṇu* assumed the deceptive appearance (*Māyāmōha*) of Buddha in order to lead by his wrong teaching the Daityas astray from the path of the Vēdas and then to destroy them.

[26] According to others, when Viṣṇu as a boar lifts the sinking earth from the overflowing sea, who had swallowed the asura Hiraṇyāksa, according to another he delivers it from the asura Hiraṇyā[illegible] zed the earth and carried it to the bottom of the sea

Of late another, a cosmogonic explanation of the avatāras, has been attempted, in imitation of the Darwinian theory of development, beginning with the fish, tortoise, boar and man-lion, progressing from the human dwarf to the brutal man of violence, then to civilised warriors, till it ends with religious dissension.

But if the avatāra of the fish is considered, as it usually is, to be the first of a series, it presents another important aspect, for it may supply us with a *terminus a quo* for beginning the history of the Aryans of India.

On the Deluge.

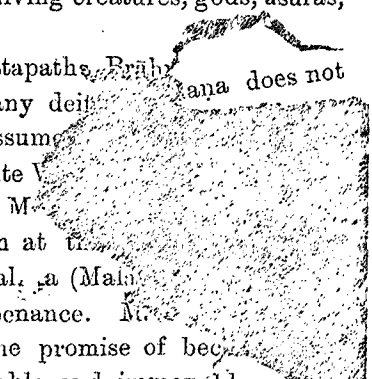
The legend of the deluge in which the man *Manu* alone is saved by a fish, that had come into his hands while washing ther[illegible] occurs first and in its most ancient and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[27] Manu saved [illegible] to rescue him from the impending [illegible]ood, which was to sweep away all [illegible] put it into a jar, and as the fish [illegible]ug a trench and placed it in it, and [illegible]t into the sea, where it was out of danger. [illegible]nu the year when the flood was to come, [illegible]n to build a ship in which he was to embark, and [illegible]ised to save him. When the flood eventually arose, Manu embarked in his ship, the fish swam towards it, and Manu fastened the cable of the ship to the horn of the fish which guided it over the Northern mountain, where Manu bound it to a tree. With the subsiding flood Manu descended and the mountain was called Manu's descent (*Manōr avasarpaṇam*); the commentator identified this mountain with the Himavat or Himālaya. As Manu alone was saved and desired offspring, by means of his sacrificial rites he produced after a year a woman, Iḍā, and from both these sprang the offspring of Manu.

[27] See Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I, 8, 1.

The later legend related in the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata identifies this fish with Prajāpati Brahman, who appeared to Manu Vaivasvata in the shape of a fish on the bank of the Cīriṇī and asked to be preserved. Manu placed it first in a jar and afterwards in a large pond, then in the Ganges, and lastly in the sea. When the time of the final dissolution arrived, Manu embarked with the seven Ṛṣis and with the seeds recommended of old by Brāhmans and fastened the floating ship to the horns of the fish, which took the ship to the highest peak of the Himālaya, which peak was afterwards known as Naubandhana. Prajāpati Brahman, who had assumed the form of a fish, then commanded Manu to create all living creatures, gods, asuras, men, &c.

While the account of the Śatapatha Brāh[illegible]aṇa does not refer to an incarnation of any dei[illegible] mentions Brahman as having assum[illegible] the subsequent reports substitute V[illegible]

The Matsya Purāṇa makes M[illegible] speaks of a general dissolution at t[illegible] Manvantara, and mentions Mal[illegible]a (Mal[illegible] where Manu underwent his penance. M[illegible] his penance from Brahman the promise of bec[illegible] preserver of all things, movable and immov[illegible] Prajāpati at the end of the general dis[illegible] placed the Śapharī (carp) fish which came [illegible] of the Kṛtamālā into his hands successively in a [illegible] well, a lake, the Ganges and the Ocean. The fish being recognized by Manu as Janārdana (Viṣṇu), promises Manu a ship constructed by the gods, in which he was to embark and to convey into it all living creatures in order to save them. This ship is eventually fastened to the horn of the fish by the serpent *Ananta* acting as a rope.



According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa an occasional dissolution happened at the end of a Kalpa, when Brahman was

asleep and Hayagrīva, the prince of the Dānavas, carried off the Vēdas, which had issued from the mouth of Brahman. Hari (Viṣṇu), on discovering this calamity, assumed the shape of a Śapharī fish and appeared in the hands of Satyavrata, the lord of Draviḍa, who underwent austere penance. This Satyavrata represents Manu Śrāddhadēva of the present Kalpa. The fish was transferred from a waterpot to a large well, a pond, then to various lakes, and finally to the ocean. Hari announces to Manu that after seven days the three worlds, the earth, air and sky would be submerged under the ocean, and that when this dissolution was impending, he would send a large ship to Manu in which the latter was to embark, taking with him all plants, seeds, the seven Ṛṣis and all creatures. The tossing ship was to be fastened to the horn of the fish, the big serpent *Ananta* serving as a rope, and the fish was to draw the ship over the ocean, while the night of Brahman was lasting. Satyavrata when on board of the ship, heard the divine explanation of the true doctrine of the soul, and Hari restored the Vēdas to Brahman at the end of the dissolution after slaying Hayagrīva.

The Agnipurāṇa, which has in its description of the Matsya-avatāra a great resemblance to the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, relates that the sleep of Brahman produced the occasional dissolution of the world, when Manu, the son of Vivasvat, was performing his penance in the Kṛtamālā river.

The legend of the deluge is common to nearly all the human races of the earth, with the exception of the black inhabitants of Africa and of Polynesia, a fact which assumes greater significance, if we remember that the disappearance of the continent *Atlantis* is often ascribed to the deluge, and that this continent is assumed to have been situated between Austral-asia and Africa. In Europe we find it among the ancient Greeks, the Celts, the Scandinavians and the Lets; in Asia it was known to the Syrians, Jews,

Phœnicians, Phrygians, Chaldeans, Assyrians and Indians; in America we meet it among the Greenlanders, Koloshes, Mexicans and Brazilians. This circumstance, however, is not conclusive evidence that all these traditions refer originally to one and the same fact, or that they started independently, as no connection exists between one and the other. The fact that an ancient author, when writing the history of a country, incidentally mentions that a great flood happened at the same time, or previously to, or later than another event he is speaking of, is no proof that the country, whose history he is writing, was inundated by the deluge. The Biblical report is undoubtedly a *bonâ fide* account of an alleged universal deluge, yet, in spite of this, it is possible, yea even probable, that the so called Biblical deluge was only local, but regarded universal by the writer of the sacred record owing to his limited geographical knowledge. Even in our days, when news is quickly spread all over the world by means of telegraphic communications, it would be difficult to ascertain at once the extent of a great calamity which has befallen a distant land beyond the sphere of international contact; how much more difficult must it have been in ancient times to obtain reliable information owing to the exclusiveness and ignorance of the people then living. If all the country known to a man is afflicted by an inundation, it is only natural that he should regard such a flood as universal. We know indeed of some inundations, which, in reality, only local, have been afterwards regarded as universal, *e.g.*, the great flood connected with the name of Ogyges is ascribed by some to the rising of the waters of the lake Kopaïs in Bœotia.[28] Similar examples are fur-

[28] Ogyges is regarded as the son of Poseidon, or of Bœotos, as the husband of Thebe, and the oldest king of Athens. Others call him a Bœotian, a king of the Hektenes and founder of Thebes. The name Ogyges is sometimes explained as being connected with the Sanskrit *ōgha*, flood.

nished by the inundation which, caused by the river Hoang-ho, devastated China in the reign of the emperor Yao, and also by the flood which, owing to the Funzha overflowing its banks, swept over the plain of Bogota in South-America. Many legends of deluges which we find both among modern and ancient nations, can be traced back to the Biblical or Chaldean record, but there are others whose origin it has not been possible to trace as yet.

It is very doubtful, whether Egypt was ever overwhelmed by the deluge. In a fragment generally, though perhaps wrongly ascribed to Manetho of Sebennytos, the high priest of Egypt, who compiled and translated into Greek, at the behest and for the information of his sovereign Ptolemaios Philadelphos, the hieroglyphic records of his country, it is mentioned that the inscriptions engraved by Thōth, the first Hermes or Hermes Trismegistos, upon the Seriadic columns, were after the deluge translated from the sacred dialect.[29] The fragments of his important work on the

[29] See *Ancient Fragments of the Phœnician, Chaldean, Egyptian, Tyrian, Carthaginian, Indian, Persian, and other writers*, by Isaac Preston Cory, Second Edition, London, 1832, pp. 168, 172. These columns in the Seriadic country (Σηριαδικὴ γῆ) said to have been written by Thōth, the first Hermes, in hieroglyphics before the deluge and afterwards translated into Greek and deposited in the adytum of the Egyptian temples by Agathodaimon, the son of the second Hermes, remind one of the two columns which the *Judaikē Archaiologia* of Flavius Josephus, I, 3, ascribes to the righteous sons of Seth, and which were erected to preserve for ever the knowledge these good men had acquired, in case the general destruction of all things (ἀφανισμὸς τῶν ὅλων) which Adam had foretold, should take place. To ensure the preservation of all scientific lore, it was twice separately engraved on two columns, on one of brick and on another of stone, so that if the water should destroy the former, the latter would remain intact. And owing to this precaution one of these columns was still extant in the time of Josephus in the Siriad (Syriad, Sirid or Seriad) land.

These columns have been the subject of much discussion. Plato refers to them in his *Timaios*, and allusions are contained in the book of Enoch and elsewhere. The association of this legend with Egypt dates, however, of a far later period, and the above given version ascribed to Manetho is

dynasties of Egypt, which are still preserved, do not, however, contain any allusion to the flood, a circumstance which makes it doubtful whether the deluge touched Egypt. Manetho even if he wrote the passage above alluded to, which is very doubtful, may have introduced the deluge into his history and borrowed it from foreign sources to fix approximately the date of certain events.

The most interesting, the most important and the most ancient of all the deluge reports are those contained in the Bible and in the Chaldean records, which though not strictly agreeing with, closely resemble each other. We possess the Chaldean account in two versions. The older and original document was found among the tablets which king Assarbanhabal caused to be inscribed, for fear that the ancient records he possessed might be destroyed in course of time. He made therefore on twelve tablets copies of the scientific and literary remains, and the eleventh tablet contains the account of the deluge. This king Assarbanhabal reigned from 660 to 628 B.C. The Greeks turned his name into Sardanapalos and applied it to another sovereign. The other report we owe to Bērōssos, the Babylonian priest of Bel, who, in the times of Alexander the Great, translated the temple records into

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probably a forgery of the fourth century. It is still a peculiar circumstance that a similar legend is ascribed both to Thōth and to Seth, representatives respectively of two hostile races, the latter being revered as a god by the conquering shepherd kings and brought to Egypt, and eventually regarded there by the Egyptians as the wicked arch-fiend of Osiris. May this coincidence not be ascribable to original identity of tradition, a fact which was afterwards forgotten or misrepresented owing to national rivalry and hatred?

Professor Dr. Jos. Lauth in his *Aegyptische Chronologie* refers, however, on page 41 to a deluge legend of *On* (Heliopolis): "Dazu kommt, dass dieses erste Jahr der Herrschaft dem Mena mit seinem mythischen Vorgänger, dem Horusdiener Bytes Sthodiarchos gemeinschaftlich war, und dass der Text des Bulager Papyrus eine alte *onitische* Tradition über die *Fluth* behandelt."

Greek, fragments of which translation were preserved by later Byzantine writers.

These tablets were first discovered and partly translated by the late Mr. George Smith. His English translation, corroborating in many places the Biblical account, attracted a great deal of attention; later on the Assyrian description appeared, in an amended form, translated into French by Professor Julius Oppert.[30]

Adrahasis, the son of Otiartes, the Xisuthros[31] (thus formed by metathesis from *Hasisu-adra*) of Bērōssos, was the tenth and last of the ancient Chaldean kings of Babylon,[32] as Noah was the tenth and last of the Patriarchs before the deluge. According to the tablet-account the Chaldean hero and prince of Erech[33] is pursued with spiteful hatred by the goddess Istar (Astarte), as she could not gain his affection. She afflicted him with an unclean disease, and he went to the immortal Xisuthros, who lived at the distant mouth of the rivers, and asked his advice in order to become purified and regain his health. While dwelling with him, Xisuthros is requested to relate the story of the deluge. He says that when he was living in the ancient town Surippak, on the banks of the Euphrates, the gods decided to overflow the earth, in order to destroy mankind, whose iniquity was increasing. With the

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[30] See *George Smith*: Translation of the Creation Tablets and *J. Oppert*: Le Poème Chaldéen du déluge, Paris, 1885.

[31] The various readings of Xisuthros are Sisuthros, Seisuthros, Zisuthros and Zisithros.

[32] These ten sovereigns are in the extract of Apollodōros from Bērōssos named: Alōros, Alaparos, Amēlōn, Ammenon, Megalōros, Daōnos, Euedōrachos, Amempsinos, Otiartēs and Xisuthros. See Cory, pp. 23, 31.

[33] Erech, the modern Warka, the Greek Orchoe. The prince of Erech is called *Istubar* or *Gisdhubar*, and Mr. Pinches of the British Museum has lately discovered that the phonetic reading of Gisdhubar is *Gilgames* which name has been changed into *Thilgamos* in *De natura animalium* (περὶ ζώων ἰδιότητος,), XII, 21 of Claudius Aelianus.

exception of *Ea-kin*, the master of the Deep, all the gods, with their chiefs, *Anu*, *Bel* and *Ninip*, were unanimous in this decision. But *Ea-kin*, the Greek Okeanos, whom Bērōssos transforms into Kronos, communicated in a dream the intention of the gods to Adrahasis, advised him to construct a ship, big enough to contain his family, friends, servants, and all sorts of animals with the necessary provisions to support them. Bērōssos fixed the rising of the flood on the fifteenth day of Daisios, and Xisuthros is advised in the same account to compile a history of everything existing and to bury this account in the city of the Sun in Sippara, which corresponds to a certain extent with Surippak.[34] Adrahasis or Xisuthros does as Ea-kin (or Kronos according to Bērōssos) has advised him, builds a ship, whose dimensions are distinctly given, ascends it with his wife, children, and friends, and the surging waves lift the ark and float it over the surface of the earth. For six days the storm and rain lasted, but, on the seventh in the morning, the tempest abated, the sea became calm, and the ship was stopped by the mountain Nizir. For seven further days Adrahasis remained there, then he despatched a pigeon, which returned to him, so also did the swallow

[34] It is doubtful whether the names Sippara and Surippak are identical or belong to different places; if the latter is the case, both must have been very near each other. Considering Akkadian to have been a Turanian language nearly related to the Gauda-Dravidian, in which the metathesis is of frequent occurrence, as I have already mentioned in the philological remarks on p. 5, Surippak and Sippara could have been identical, as are Madura and Marudai. Sippara has been identified with the Biblical *Sepharvaim*. The legend of the buried books has given rise to the popular conjecture of deriving the name Sippara from the root *sipru*, the Hebrew *sepher*, a book. The legend of the Siriadic columns mentioned by Manetho and by Josephus (see p. 315, note 29) resembles to a certain extent the story told by Bērōssos. Can Seriad be in some way connected with Surippak? It is also curious that the Egyptian Heliopolis corresponds to the Chaldean Sippara, or city of the Sun (Ṣamaṣ), and that the Hermetic books of Thōth find an analogy in the books of Xisuthros.

which he sent next, but the raven, which was sent for the last, did not return. After this he left the ship, sacrificed to the gods, and disappeared with his wife both to live henceforth as immortals with the gods. The tablet account gives, at the end, a speech of Ea-kin addressed to Bel, in which he points out the uselessness of the flood as a punishment, for, though it destroyed mankind then living, it did not root out the sin and immorality of men.

The Biblical description does not vary much from the Chaldean account. According to Genesis[35] it rained "forty days and forty nights, and the waters increased, "and bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth . . "And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, "and all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, "were covered. Fifteen cubits upwards did the waters "prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all flesh "died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of "cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that "creepeth upon the earth, and every man; . . and Noah "only remained alive, and they that were with him in the "ark . . . After the end of the hundred and fifty days the "waters were abated. And the ark rested in the seventh "month on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the "mountains of Ararat. And the waters decreased con-"tinually until the tenth month: in the tenth month, on the "first day of the month, were the tops of the moun-"tains seen. And it came to pass at the end of forty days, "that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had "made: and he sent forth a raven, which went forth to and "fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth. "And he sent forth a dove from him, . . but the dove "found no rest for the sole of her feet, and she returned

[35] Gen., Chap. vii. 4, 12, 17, 19—21, 23; viii. 3—21.

"unto him into the ark . . . And he stayed other seven days: "and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark; and the "dove came in to him in the evening; and, lo, in her mouth, "was an olive leaf pluckt off: so Noah knew that the "waters were abated from off the earth. And he stayed "yet other seven days, and sent forth the dove; which "returned not again unto him any more. And it came to "pass in the six hundredth and first year, in the first "month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried "up from off the earth: and Noah removed the covering "of the ark, and looked, and behold, the face of the ground "was dry. And in the second month, on the seventh and "twentieth day of the month, was the earth dried. And "God spake unto Noah, saying: Go forth of the ark, thou, "and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with "thee . . . And Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, "and his sons' wives with him . . . And Noah builded an altar "unto the Lord and took of every clean beast, and of every "clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar. And the "Lord smelled a sweet savour; and the Lord said in his heart, "I will not again curse the ground any more for man's "sake; for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his "youth; neither will I again smite any more every thing "living, as I have done."

The place where the ark first rested, is described in the Old Testament as "over the mountains of Ararat." Ararat has been generally understood to mean the mountain, now called Ararat, which is named by the Armenians *Macis*, by the Turks *Aghir Dagh* (the steep mountain), and by the Persians *Asis* (the happy mountain) or *Koh-i-Nuh*, the mountain of Noah. Not far from it in the plain lies Nakidjevan (Nachdjevan), where Noah is said to have landed, and whose name has been explained as meaning "the first stage (of descent)." This Nachdjevan must however not be confounded with another town of the same

name, situated on the Don in the Russian district Yekaterinoslaw, which is the seat of the Armenian Patriarch.[36] The mountain Ararat itself consists of two conical peaks, respectively, 14,320 and 17,212 feet high. It is very inaccessible and the Armenians assert that, as the ark of Noah was to be kept intact on the top of the mountain, nobody was permitted to ascend it. However, much to their displeasure, it was successfully climbed in 1829 by the German explorer, Dr. Parrot. Since that time it has been ascended more than once; but, to the great disappointment of the neighbouring inhabitants, no trace of the ark has been found on Ararat. Yet, even if the ark had originally rested on the mountain, it could hardly be expected to be there still, not only in consequence of the exposure to the weather to which it had to submit for thousands of years, but also, and not the least, on account of the frequent and violent volcanic eruptions, to which Mount Ararat is subject. Such eruptions have been often accompanied with great devastations as in the years 1783 and 1840. To the careful reader of the Mosaic recor it is, however, clear that Noah's ark descended with the subsiding

[36] The Rev. K. M. Banerjea's *Arian Witness*, Calcutta, 1875, in No. 10, p. 162, seems to do so, when he calls the Armenian Nachdjevan the seat of the Armenian Patriarch. Nachdjevan in Eriwan is no doubt a very old place, and was once the capital of Armenia. The name is explained to be equivalent with the Persian *Manzale awel*. It was repeatedly destroyed by earthquakes as well as by enemies. Exiled Medes rebuilt it after a destructive earthquake in the 6th century B.C. An early legend connected it with the Noachian deluge. Nebukadnezar transplanted to it some of his Jewish prisoners. The Persians destroyed it in the middle of the 4th century A.D. From a village it rose to a flourishing town in the 10th century. However, the Tartars laid it in ruins in the 13th century and killed its inhabitants. After reobtaining its old position under the sway of the Timurides, Shah Abbas of Persia destroyed it again in the 17th century, but the Turks recovered it even after Shah Tamasp had taken it. Since Nadir Shah, however, it became Persian, but was ceded to Russia in 1827. The earthquake of 1840 has injured it considerably. The town has now about 5,000 inhabitants.

waters and did not remain at the top of the mountain. On further investigation it will also become clear that the Biblical meaning of *Ararat* does not necessarily point to the mountain Ararat. Indeed, the reading of the text is "upon the mountains of Ararat." In other places of the Old Testament *Ararat* refers to the country *Armenia*, and the Vulgate contains in fact in those places Armenia instead of Ararat.[37] Armenian writers make Ararat a province of Armenia, and derive its name from Arai, the alleged eighth king of Armenia and contemporary of Semiramis, who was defeated and killed in that locality, whence it was called *Arai-arat*, the ruin of Arai.

It is a strange coincidence that the Euphrates and Tigris rivers often rise on a sudden to an immense height and inundate the intervening country. Floods of this kind have been besides aggravated by violent earthquakes. If at such a period fierce cyclones sweep over the Indian ocean, the waters of the rivers joined with the encroaching sea waves can easily produce a diluvial catastrophe.

Josephus mentions, in his *Judaikē Archaiologia* (lib. 1, ch. 4), that the Armenians call the place, where Noah descended from the ark, *Apobatērion*, and he further states that Bērōssos (and in this item he is supported by Alexander Polyhistor) fixes the Kordyan mountains in Armenia as the place where Xisuthros landed. Xisuthros himself, when leaving his companions, tells them that they are in Armenia. Bērōssos further adds, that to this day the inhabitants make amulets and bracelets from the remaining bitumen and wood of the ark.[38] These Kordyan

[37] Genesis vii. 4; 2 Kings xix. 37; Isaiah xxxvii. 38; Jeremiah li. 27.

[38] See *Bērōssos* from Alexander Polyhistor in Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 29: "The vessel being thus stranded in Armenia, some part of it yet remains in the Corcyrean mountains (Corduarum montibus, Eu. Ar.) of Armenia; and the people scrape off the bitumen, with which it had been outwardly coated, and make use of it by way of an alexipharimic and

mountains are the well-known *Karduchia orē* of Xenophon's Anabasis,[39] the Kurduchians being the ancestors of the modern Kurds of Kurdistan, Kurdistan itself forming in ancient times a part of Armenia. This well agrees with the reading of *Kardu* instead of Armenia in the Chaldean or Targum of Onkelos. The country *Kardu* has been declared to be synonymous with Armenia, and the word *Kardu* to be etymologically identical with *Chaldea*, so that the ancient form Chaldea corresponds, so far as the name is concerned, with the modern Kurdistan. The ancient tradition thus points in general to Armenia as the country where the ark landed, though opinion is divided as to the particular spot where it landed. The Koran inclines to the side of Bērōssos, as it says that the ark rested on *El Jūdi*, a mountain north-west of Mossūl and east of Jezirah ibn Omar, at the foot of which lies the village *Karya Themanīn*, for the Muhammadans believe that eighty instead of eight people were saved in the ark. Many other mountains have been pointed out as resting places of the ark, *e.g.*, the Demavend on the south side of the Caspian Sea in Persia, the Sufued-Koh (white mountain) in Afghanistan, between Cabul and Peshawur, the Adam's Peak in Ceylon; but our special interest centres in the account of Manu.

The similarity in the names of Oannes, Anu, Noah and Manu has given rise to wild philological derivations, and, though it is not yet safe to venture a decided opinion whether these names are connected with each other or not, still it is hardly probable that a connection exists between all these four legendary personages. The resemblance between the Chaldean and Biblical accounts is so

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amulet." Compare with this extract the following from Abydenos, *ibidem*, p. 34: "With respect to the vessel which yet remains in Armenia, it is a custom of the inhabitants to form bracelets and amulets of its wood."

[39] See Xenophon's Anabasis, iv. 1.

great, that they may be safely regarded as different versions of the same legend, a legend which may be ultimately traced back to Solar mythology. The great dissimilarity consists in the different names of the two heroes of the story, Adrahasis (or Xisuthros) and Noah, in the manner in which the impending deluge was communicated to each, and in their subsequent fate.

If we now turn to the Indian legend of Manu, we find there also some notable discrepancies. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu alone is saved in the ship, which passes over the northern mountain (*uttaram girim*), whose original name is, however, not given in the text, but which is only conjecturally supplied by the commentator as the Himavat (Himālaya). It is, however, henceforth known as Manu's descent *Manōr avasarpaṇam*. He created, by his penance, a woman, named *Iḍā*, by whom he became the ancestor of men. According to the Mahābhārata, Manu performs penance on the bank of the Chīriṇī, takes the Ṛṣis with him in his boat, and after many years reaches the summit of the *Himavat*, which, as he binds on it the boat, is called *Naubandhana*. Manu becomes eventually the creator of men, gods and asuras. The Matsya-Purāṇa reports that Manu, the son of the Sun, underwent a severe penance in a certain district of *Malaya*, the modern Malabar, and requested Brahman to grant him his wish to preserve at the impending dissolution all existing creatures, whether moving or fixed. The Śapharī fish, whom Manu recognizes as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, predicts a general conflagration followed by an universal deluge, which Manu alone will outlive in his divine boat. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa relates that Hayagrīva had carried off the Vēdas, while Brahman had fallen asleep, that Hari assumed the form of a Sapharī fish and appeared in this shape to Śatyavrata, the lord of *Draviḍa*, while he was offering water to the Pitṛs in the Kṛtamālā river. This Satyavrata

is in this Kalpa identical with Śrāddhadēva, the son of Vivasvat.

As the late Dr. J. Muir has already pointed out, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to make the legend of the flood, as related in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, agree with the system of Kalpas and Manvantaras.[40] The oldest Indian account, contained in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, is the simplest of all, and neither mentions Kalpas or Manvantaras, nor does it speak of a dissolution of the world, but only of a flood, from which Manu is the only survivor. It does not name any particular locality, but only alludes to a northern mountain, which he calls from Manu's landing Manu's descent. The commentator identifies eventually the northern mountain with the Himālaya, and the Mahābhārata then declares the Himālaya as the mountain where the fastening of the ark (*Naubhandana*) took place. The scene of Manu's penance afterwards shifts to the south of India, and we see it transferred to *Malaya* and *Dravida*, which, under the circumstances, may be regarded as identical. This changing of the locality from the north to the south is very significant, the more so if the latter be preceded by a prior movement from the west to the east, which I believe to be clearly the case, for a Chaldæan or Turanian Semitic origin of the Indian legend of the deluge can easily be proved. The renowned Burnouf was the first to suggest a Semitic origin, though the reasons on which he founded his opinion could not be substantiated. He believed that the theory of great manvantara periods and of periodical dissolutions was at a very early period adopted by the ancient Indians, and that the legend of the deluge was introduced into India at a comparatively modern date, because it was only mentioned in works of later origin such as the Mahābhārata

[40] *See* his "Original Sanskrit Texts," Vol. I, p. 215, ff.

and the Purāṇas. He was wrong in both premises, for the Indian theory of yugas and manvantaras is not very ancient, and the deluge is not only mentioned in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, but also, as we have seen, in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa; however, he was right in his main assertion that the Indian deluge legend was of foreign or non-Indian origin. Most probably the Aryans brought it with them when they immigrated into India, or else they obtained it whilst already in this country. In both circumstances, the locality of the flood, more especially that of the northern mountain, cannot be connected with any Indian spot, and the identification of the mountain with the Himālaya, or its substitution by the country of Malaya or Dravida, falls to the ground.

It appears to me that the Indian legend presents a combination of the Chaldean and Biblical versions. It resembles the Chaldean report in its description of certain circumstances connected with the flood, whilst the appearance of the fish makes, as has been often pointed out already, the Chaldean origin well-nigh certainty. Manu, like Noah, survives the flood and becomes the ancestor of the human race, while Xisuthros (Adrahasis) disappears after the landing and is together with his wife enrolled among the gods.

The fish in the story of Manu corresponds, on the one hand, to the Chaldean Ōannēs mentioned by Bērōssos, or to the Akkadian Ea-kin (Ea, the fish), revered as the sublime fish and worshipped as the god of the ocean.[41] The fish Ōannēs combined with his fishy form a human body with human hands and feet, and speaks with a human voice. Ōannēs—from the grammarian Helladios calls Ōēs (Ὠήϛ) and the latter-Platonic Damaskios Aos (Ἀόϛ), is Ea-kin, the god of the deep, as well as of the earth and of heaven; whose special home

[41] See *Chaldean Magic* by François Lenormant, p. 203.

was Eridu, the modern Abu Shahrein, on the Persian Gulf, which represented to the Chaldean mind the Ocean, the great receptacle of all streams and rivers. He emerged from the watery element of the celestial ocean which is personified as the goddess Ziku.[42] As consort stands at his side an independent female deity, Dav-ki (Dav-kina), the lady of the earth; the special goddess of Eridu. Each Babylonian city had its special goddess or creatress, as every Indian hamlet and town has its peculiar Grāmadēvatā. Ea-kin is the creator of the black race, as the Akkadians called themselves, so also do the modern Hindus, who speak of themselves in Telugu as *Nallavāṇḍlu* or in Tamil *Karuppumanuṣarkal* (or *Karuppumanitarkal*). Ea-kin alone knows the supreme name in which is centred all divine power. He has many names, and those of other gods are also transferred to him. His weapon is the disk, which is in India assigned to Viṣṇu and to Buddha. He is intrinsically pure and does not cause evil. He is the depositary of all knowledge and reveals to men all religious and social laws. In this respect he resembles the Egyptian *Thōth*, to whom are ascribed the Seriadic columns. Similar pillars are attributed to the children of the patriarch *Seth*, in whose time, according to the Bible, men began to invoke the name of the Lord.[43] Bērōssos tells us that Ōannēs assumed from time to time incarnations, which apparitions were called *Annedotoi*. We find thus, among the ancient Akkadians, already the doctrine of divine incarnation, a doctrine which, at a later period prevailed in India. The other manifestations of Ea-kin no doubt differ from those which are connected with Viṣṇu's name in India, as time and circumstances are different; yet, considering that

[42] See Lenormant, *ibidem*, p. 156.

[43] As I have already mentioned, the Egyptians regarded Set, the supreme deity of their enemies; the shepherd kings, as the evil spirit. This Set is identical with the well-known deity *Baal*.

the original inhabitants of India, the Gauda-Dravidians, belonged to the same race as the Akkadians, this coincidence in dogma should not be overlooked, though we are at present, from want of knowledge, unable to make use of it.

On the Yugas.

While the accounts of the deluge, contained in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Mahābhārata, do not mention the periods of Kalpas or Manvantaras, the Puranic descriptions allude to them, and it is necessary for that reason to consider them. The Viṣṇupurāṇa has a particular chapter devoted to the measures of time, in which the Yugas, Manvantaras and Kalpas are specially considered. The four Yugas, the Kṛta, Trētā, Dvāpara and Kali yugas are, respectively, composed of 4,800, 3,600, 2,400 and 1,200, or altogether of 12,000 divine years. A divine year, or a year of the gods, has 360 days, each day being a year of the mortals, *i.e.*, 4,320,000 divine days or mortal years. One thousand of such 12,000 divine years represents a day of Brahman, or a Kalpa, which lasts therefore 4,320,000,000 human years, and a night of Brahman is as long as his day. Fourteen Manus reign within such a day, and a Manvantara is, therefore, about the fourteenth part of a day of Brahman. A Manvantara is also equal to 71 times the years of a Yuga *plus* 25,920,000 years or $4,320,000 \times 71 \times 14 + 25,920,000 = 4,320,000,000$. Either 1,728,000 years are added to each Manvantara, and 1,728,000 besides at the beginning at a Kalpa, or 1,851,428 years are added to its Manvantara and the 8 remaining otherwise distributed, so that $(4,320,000 \times 71 + 1,728,000) \times 14 + 1,728,000 = (4,320,000 \times 71 + 1,851,428) \times 14 + 8 = 4,320,000,000$. A general collapse takes place at the end of a day of Brahman, and this lasts during the following night. This complicated system does not bear the impress of great antiquity, and, as a matter of fact, it is not mentioned in the Ṛgvēda. The word *yuga* occurs there

frequently, but in the sense of age, generation, or tribe.[44] It has been already pointed out by Professor von Roth that Manu, when speaking of the 4,800, 3,600, 2,400 and 1,200 years of the Kṛta, Trētā, Dvāpara and Kali yugas respectively, does not distinguish between years of the gods and years of the mortals. These 12,000 ordinary years or 4,320,000 days, the sum total of the four yugas, were called a yuga or age of the gods, and a thousand of these divine yugas made a day of Brahman.[45] The considerable enlargement of the computation, by making a day of the gods equal to a year of the mortals, is a sure sign of a later origin. We possess also other good reasons for assuming that the origin of these four different ages belongs to a subsequent period, and this reason is supplied by their very names, for none of the terms *kali*, *dvāpara* and *trētā* appear in the Ṛgvēda. The most popular social game among the ancient Aryans was that of dice, and gambling was one of their common vices, to which property, honor and liberty were often sacrificed. We are ignorant of the niceties of the game, but we know that *kali* was either the die or the side of the die marked with one (unfortunate) eye (*akṣa*), *dvāpara* that which had two, *trētā* which has three and *kṛta* (good) that which had four eyes. The *kali*, *dvāpara*, *trētā* and *kṛta* yugas stood in the proportion of these dice of 1, 2, 3 and 4, and, I believe, that the names of the four different dice, or of the four sides of the die were transferred

[44] Compare J. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I, p. 45, ff.

[45] See *Manu* I, 69—72.

69. Catvāryāhuḥ sahasrāṇi varṣāṇām tu kṛtam yugam.
Tasya tāvacchatī sandhyā sandhyāṁśaśca tathāvidhah.

70. Itarēṣu susandhyēṣu sasandhyāṁśēṣu ca triṣu
Ēkāpāyēna vartantē sahasrāṇi śatāni ca.

71. Yadētat parisaṅkhyātam ādāvēva caturyugam.
Ētad dvādaśasāhasram dēvānām yugam ucyatē.

72. Daivikānām yugānām tu sahasram parisaṅkhyayā
Brāhmam ēkam ahar jñēyam tāvatī rātrirēva ca.

to those of the yugas. The calculation began with the lowest number, but the table was reversed, so that the largest stood first.[*6]

[*6] Compare the articles under kali, kṛta, trētā and dvāpara in Böthlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*. The original table of these four ages is as follows:—

Kaliyuga, 1,200 years	dawn	100	years.
	length of age	1,000	„
	twilight	100	„
Dvāparayuga, 2,400 years	dawn	200	„
	length of age	2,000	„
	twilight	200	„
Trētāyuga, 3,600 years	dawn	300	„
	length of age	3,000	„
	twilight	300	„
Kṛtayuga, 4,800 years	dawn	400	„
	length of age	4,000	„
	twilight	400	„

The first mentioning of the names Kali, Dvāpara, Trētā and Kṛta occurs in *Aitarēya Brāhmana* VII, 15 (in Dr. Martin Haug's edition, Vol. I, p. 180):

"Kaliḥ śayānō bhavati sañjihānastu dvāparaḥ,
Uttiṣṣhan trētā bhavati kṛtam sampadyatē caran."

(*Kali* is lying, *Dvāpara* is moving, Trētā is standing, Kṛta is walking.) This passage has been explained as referring to virtue (*Dharma*) personified as a bull (*vṛṣa*), lying down with one foreleg standing upright in the Kaliyuga, getting up with his two frontlegs in the Dvāparayuga, standing at rest on three legs in the Trētāyuga, and walking on four legs in the Kṛtayuga.

The numbers of the legs 1, 2, 3 and 4 correspond to the same number of eyes of the dice. The passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III, 4, 16) where these four terms are repeated refers clearly to gambling with dice ("akṣarājāya kitavam *kṛtāya* sabhāvinam *trētāyā* ādinavadarśam *dvāparāya* bahissadam *kalayē* sabhāsthāṇum duṣkṛtāya carakācāryam").

In the *Bhīṣmaparvan*, X, 3—7, the years ascribed to the Yugas refer to the years men live in them respectively.

Another explanation of the word *Kṛta* in *Kṛtayuga* has been offered by Mr. M. Seshagiri Sastri, M.A., in his "Etymology of some mythological names" on p. 27 of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science for the session 1888-89, which is a reprint from a passage on pp. 193, 194 of his *Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philology*: "Minos I, the grandfather, was the wise legislator in every city of Greece and was made the supreme and absolute judge in the infernal regions. His equity and justice, the radical connection of his name with Sans. वृष, vṛṣa, and the fact of his being the king of Creta, the Grecian original forms of which are Κρητα and Κρητη remind

Computations of time on a large scale are also found among the Akkadians, Chaldeans and Egyptians. The old Egyptian chronicle, *e.g.*, thus ascribes to the 30 dynasties in 113 descents the long period of 36,525 years, which, subdivided by 25, gives 1,461 years and which relates to the mythological zodiac among the Egyptians and Greeks. 1,461 days give four Egyptian solar years of 365¼ days each year.[47] The Babylonians were no doubt expert astrologers and astronomers, and, as such, they were famous in ancient times. They fixed the deluge of Adrahasis or Xisuthros 39,180 years before the commencement of history which began, according to them, 2517 B.C., or altogether 41,697 years B.C. They assumed, moreover, that the ten kings from Alōros to Xisuthros, who preceded the flood, had reigned 432,000 years.[48]

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us of the Hindu *Kṛta Yuga*, the first of the four great periods of the world, in which Vṛṣa, the bull of virtue, stood with [illegible] legs and reigned supreme (*vide* the *Vṛṣa Group*). In Κρητη I see [illegible] κριτις, 'choice,' or the act of choosing, that is, the human volitio[illegible]s. कृत, kṛta, or कृति, kṛti, 'action'; and the legendary go[illegible] Κρητη by Minos and the standing of Virtue of a bovine for[illegible]st refer to the virtuous disposition of the people in a good [illegible] Κρητα in its secondary meaning refers to the locality of t[illegible]tion and the Sans. कृत, kṛta, to the age."

[47] See *Viṣṇupurāṇa* in F. Hall's edition, Vol. I, p[illegible]2, and Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 89: "Among the Egyptians there is a certain tablet called the Old Chronicle, containing thirty dynasties in 113 descents, during the long period of 36,525 years." This number is also mentioned by Jamblichus, in connexion with Egyptian history, as the number of the Hermaic books, perhaps allowing a book to each year. "All which Hermes wrote in 20,000 books, according to the account of Seleucus; but Manetho, in his history relates that they were completed in 36,525"—(*De Myst*, p. 8, c. 1), and on p. 91: "In all, 30 dynasties, and 36,525 years, which number of years, resolved and divided into its constituent parts, that is to say, 25 times 1,461 years, shows that it relates to the fabled periodical revolution of the Zodiac among the Egyptians and Greeks."

[48] See *Le poème Chaldéen du déluge* traduit de l'Assyrien par Jules Oppert, Paris, 1885, pp. 6, 7: "Les Babyloniens plaçaient le déluge à 39,180 ans avant le commencement de[illegible]aps historiques, qu'ils fixaient à

These 432,000 years are reduced in the Biblical account, as Professor Julius Oppert of the French Academy has very ingeniously shown, to 1,656 years. The first reduction he makes by dividing 432,000 by 5, the number of 86,400 thus gained, he regards as representing weeks, which 86,400 weeks are as nearly as possible equal to 1,656 years; for 23 years give 8,400 days or 1,200 weeks, a year having 365¼ days, and the surplus fraction of ¾ being disregarded; 23 × 72 or 1,656 years give thus 86,400 weeks.[49]

2,517 av. J. C.: donc à 41,697 av. J. C. La chronologie chaldéenne a les mêmes origines que celles de la Genèse: les Hébreux, peuple plus jeune, ne faisaient que raccourcir les unités temporaires. Xisuthrus était le dixième des dix rois antédiluviens qui avaient regné, 432,000 ans ou 86,400 (60 × 60 × 24) lustres. Noé est le dernier des dix partriarches hébreux qui vivaient pendant un intervalle de 86,400 semaines ou 1656 ans. Les 39,180 ans écoulés entre le déluge et les temps historiques sont 653 soixantaines d'années ou 653 *sosses*, qui se décomposaient en:

12 periodes sothiaques à 1,460 ans = 17,520 ans ou 292 sosses.
12 „ lunaires à 1,805 ans = 21,660 ans ou 361 sosses.
39,180 ans ou 653 sosses.

La Bible a réduit [illegible]taines d'années à l'unité, et chose d'une importance capitale, e[illegible]re le déluge et la naissance d'Abraham, 292 ans, et entre c[illegible] la fin de la Genèse 361 ans; en total, 653 ans, les chiffre[illegible]t commentaire."

To the soth[illegible]ods Professor J. Oppert adds the following note: "La [illegible]e de 1,460 ans ou de quatre fois 365 ans, usitée surtou[illegible] est le laps de temps dans lequel une date de l'année vague [illegible]ours fait le tour des saisons. La période lunaire de 1,805 ans ou 22,325 lunaisons est un cycle, après lequel les éclipses reviennent dans le même ordre; cette période était connue des anciens, qui l'avaient déduite de leur observations."

The calculation according to which the 39,180 years previously to the historical times of the Babylonians correspond to 653 Babylonian sothiac and lunar sosses or to 653 Biblical years (which lapse of time equals the period between the deluge and the death of Joseph in Egypt), requires some further explanation, because Joseph did, according to Biblical calculations, neither die in the year 2517 B.C., nor is it explained how we can accept these two thousand and odd years as years B.C. when the preceding 39,180 years equal only 653 Biblical years.

[49] *Ibidem*, note on pp. 6, 7: "En effet, 23 ans font 8,400 jours ou 1,200 semaines; 1,656 ou 23 × 72 ans donnent 86,400 semaines. La Bible, comme les Chaldéens, partageait le temps antédiluvien en trois parties,

In their calculations the Babylonians, however, followed the older Turanian settlers of the country, the Akkadians, who were the real originators of the *Soss*, the period of sixty years. This computation of time was most probably peculiar to the whole race, as it was found, and is still extant among its principal representatives in Asia. Not only is it to be met with among the old Akkadians, the mediæval Uigurs, the modern Mongols, Mantchus and Chinese, but it was very likely also known to the Gauda-Dravidians and other kindred tribes.[5] At a later period

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sur lesquelles il y avait des légendes aujourd'hui ignorées. Les cinq premiers patriarches bibliques vivaient ensemble 460 (23×20) ans ou 24,000 semaines; les trois suivants 414 (23×13) ans ou 21,600 semaines, juste le quart de tout l'intervalle. Les deux derniers occupent 782 (23×34) ans ou 40,800 semaines; dans cette dernière periode tous moururent, depuis Adam jusqu'au neuvième patriarche. Les Chaldéens admettent trois périodes semblables, dont la seconde prend, elle aussi, le quart de toute l'époque antédiluvienne. L'évaluation de l'âge du monde à 6,000 ans repose uniquement, sur les chiffres de la Genèse dont on a aujourd'hui découvert l'origine: les Juifs ont combiné avec les mêmes nombres des unités temporaires plus petites que celles des Chaldéens et des Égyptiens.

[5] See my monograph *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte* (2nd edition), Berlin, 1870, in No. 1, on pp. 119, 120 on the sixty years' cycle among the Eastern Turks, Mongols and Chinese. The twelve yearly cycle of animals is combined with a ten years' cycle of the five elements or of the five colours (blue, red, yellow, white and black) in their masculine and feminine forms, thus becoming ten. In this manner the 60 years' cycle can be expanded into one of 120 years.

The ancient Egyptians used, as Professor *Lauth* has proved a period of 120 years, the *Hanti*; "In der That mit Zugrundelegung dieses 120 jährigen Zeitkreises *hanti* ist es mir gelungen, die vollständige Reihe sämmtlicher Epochenkönige wieder aufzufinden" (*Aegyptische Chronologie*, p. 9). However, the word *hanti* suggests it to be a dual formation, in consequence this cycle of 120 years may perhaps be founded on that of 60 years' duration.

Plutarch, in his treatise *de Iside et Osiride*, Cap. 75, Vol. II., p. 381, in the above mentioned Paris edition of 1624, remarks that the Egyptian astronomers regarded the number 60 as their first measure (ἑξήκοντα ὁ τῶν μέτρων πρῶτόν ἐστι τοῖς περὶ τὰ οὐράνια πραγματευομένοις), a fact which Prof. Lauth has also pointed out.

it was adopted by the Aryan immigrants of India, as is proved by the existence of the sixty years' cycle of Bṛhaspati or Jupiter. This planet accomplishes an entire revolution in twelve years or rather in 4,332 days, 12 hours, &c. As this cycle is divided into twelve years like a year is into twelve months, a lustrum of such a cycle constitutes the 60 years' cycle or the Chaldean soss. Whether the Kaliyuga, of which I spoke previously, owes its duration to twenty such sosses being combined, it is now impossible to prove; however, it is not at all improbable. The artificial arrangement of the yugas in which a morning and evening dawn, which occupied together a sixth part of an age (*e.g.*, the 100 years of the dawn, the 1,000 years of the yuga and the 100 years of the evening) and which precede and follow each yuga, is also perhaps of later origin; but whether this is the case or not, the correctness of my explanation of the origin of the nomenclature of the yugas will not be affected. The main object I have in view in this discussion is to draw attention to the close resemblance of Indian and Turanian computation S.[51]

[51] The twelve years of the cycle of Bṛhaspati have the names of the twelve lunar months, as the twelve-yearly rotation of Jupiter resembles the twelve monthly of the earth. If this twelve-yearly revolution is combined with the lustrum, *yuga*, or period of five years, the 60 years' cycle is the result. It is, however, quite possible, that this combination of the lustrum with the Jupiter cycle is only a later explanation of Indian astronomers, as it is certain that the latter derived in later times most of their knowledge from the West, especially through the Greeks, who in their turn were indebted to the Babylonians and Egyptians; the Sanskrit names of the Zodiac are thus mere translations of the Western names. Compare *Varāhamihira's* Bṛhatsaṁhitā, VIII, 1, about the names of the single years of the cycle of Bṛhaspati corresponding to those of twelve lunar months and VIII, 27 about the sixty years' cycle:

Ādyam dhaniṣṭhāṁśam abhiprapannō māghē yadā yātyudayam surējyaḥ
ṣaṣṭyabdapūrvaḥ prabhavaḥ sa nāmnā pravartatē bhūtahitastadābdaḥ.

See the *Sūryasiddhānta*, 1, 55, XIV, 1, 2 (edition of the Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1859, pp. 41, 369, 370) about the twelve-years' and sixty-years' cycle of Bṛhaspati:

55. Dvādaśaghnā gurōr yātā bhagaṇā vartamānakaiḥ.
Rāśibhiḥ sahitāḥ śuddhāḥ ṣaṣṭyā syur vijayādayaḥ.

From the general description in the sacred record it does not appear that the deluge was accompanied by any such phenomena as have proceeded from geological revolutions produced by violent eruptions of water. The early drift accumulations prove, by their component elements, that they belong to a period much anterior to the deluge of Noah, but the crust and surface of the earth do not exhibit any clearly ascertained and indelible traces of the Noachian deluge. Notwithstanding that no such evidences of any great diluvian catastrophe are found, similar catastrophes and inundations, which created great changes on the surface of the earth, have happened within that period.

Since the researches of Professor Prestwich, the existence of man has been traced to a period far beyond the limits of Biblical chronology; nay, it is thought highly probable that human beings already existed in the so-called tertiary period, and hundred thousands of years must therefore have elapsed before we come within touch of historical times. It is, however, possible that though man existed, he was at that early period both mentally and physically far below the species at present living. In fact we know hardly anything about these men beyond their bare existence; they have almost totally disappeared, without leaving anything behind them, save their bones and a few traces of their handiwork and implements. On the other hand the Chaldean and Biblical deluge-accounts prove through the survival of the companions of Xisuthros and Noah respectively the continuity of the human species, and inform us besides of events that previously occurred. The existence of the Chaldean tablets prepared with the express purpose of preserving to posterity the learning of bye-gone

1. Brāhmam divyam tathā pitryam prājāpatyam gurōs tathā,
Saurañca sāvanam cāndram ārkṣam mānāni vai nava.
2. Caturbhir vyavahārōṣtra sauracāndrāpk'asāvanaiḥ
Bārhaspatyēna ṣaṣṭyabdam jñēyam nānyais tu nityaśaḥ.

times, favors the assumption that according to the expectation of the inscribers the deluge would be confined by limits of time and place. These expectations appear to have been realised, for the discovery of these tablets shows, that there could not have taken place any great changes on the surface of the earth.

In summing up the evidence derived from the Biblico-Chaldean account of the deluge, assuming it to have been local and to have extended only over Mesopotamia and the contiguous countries, the Indian description of it must either have emanated from direct communications made by the descendants of survivors, or from reports, which events of such magnitude necessarily produce. As the Aryans had not yet entered India at such an early date, Manu could not have been in India, nor could the ark have landed on the Himālaya, or elsewhere in this country. This conclusion appears to be supported by the fact that the Vēda nowhere alludes to such an inundation. I omit altogether at this moment to consider the possibility of the deluge legend being known among the Gauda-Dravidian population of India, but may point out that its connection with Malabar seems to lend a plausibility to such an assumption.

If we were certain, which we are not, that Genesis supplies us with an approximate date of the deluge, and that this deluge was, what is very probable, identical with the Indian deluge connected with the name of Manu, we would be able, as the Noachian flood, according to Biblical chronology, can be fixed at 2500 B.C., to utilize this date also for purposes of Indian history and start from it as the commencement of its first epoch. I regard the matsya-avatāra of Viṣṇu, however, in its connection with Manu as the first legendary date of Indian history. This importance that I ascribe to the fish avatāra of Viṣṇu, as exemplified by Manu's flood, has induced me to enter more

deeply into this subject than might seem at first necessary from a superficial view of the question. The prevailing Indian tradition that the three first avatāras of Viṣṇu belong to the Kṛta, the next four to the Trētā, the eighth and ninth to the Dvāpara and the tenth to the Kali-yuga has no historical weight. This inquiry has also brought to light the intimate connection between the Turanian tribes of the West with those of the East—a connection which will prove eventually of very great importance.

On the Sālagrāma-stone.

Viṣṇu like other gods is worshipped by means of images (*vigraha*), but his pious adherents prefer to revere him in the form of the Sālagrāma-stone, though jewels, drawings and heaps of grain are also occasionally used to represent him.[52] The worship of idols is always difficult and demands great attention. The slightest mistake or oversight exposes the adorer to the wrath of the offended deity,

[52] Sālagrāmē manau yantrē, maṇḍalē pratimādiṣu,
harēḥ pūjā prakartavyā na tu kēvalabhūtalē.

The derivation of the word *Sālagrāma*, *Śālagrāma* or *Śāligrāma* is disputed. Some connect the word with the Sāl or Śāl-tree (Shorea robusta or Valeria robusta), and contend that it signifies a collection of such trees, which are said to grow in abundance in the neighbourhood of the Sālagrāmatirtha (*sālānām vṛkṣāṇām grāmaḥ*). Others assert that it signifies *sāragrāya*, the best stone, while others explain the first word of the compound *śāla* or *śāra* as formed of the prefix *sa*, with, and the noun *ara* or *ala* (for no real difference exists between *r* and *l*), spoke of a wheel, curl, *sāragrāma* or *sālagrāma* in consequence signifying a collection of spiral curls. Others again affirm that the name is connected with *ali*, bee. The *Vajrakīṭa* worm, which bores the hole in the Sālagrāma, is by some commentators taken for a bee *bhramara* or *ali*, and as the holes are occasionally found in great numbers (grāma), the stone received the name of Sāligrāma. This opinion is expressed in a ślōka of the *Pañcarātrāgama* mentioned to me by M.R.Ry. V. Tātadēśika Tātācāryār:

Alayō vajrakīṭās syus tadvṛndam grāma ucyatē,
Aligrāmasamētatvāt sāligrāmas sa ucyatē.

A wrong conjecture connects it with *śaila*, rock.

who in some form, *e.g.*, as Narasiṁha, is easily disposed to get angry and to take revenge on the incautious worshipper.

The peculiar outward appearance of the Sālagrāma with its perforated hole (*chidra* or *dvāra*), its spiral convolution (*cakra*), its various colours (*varṇa*) and other striking marks offers to the untutored mind of the superstitious beholder ample scope for astonishment and wonder, and as this stone possesses besides considerable magnetic force one need not be surprised that divine or supernatural powers are ascribed to it, and that it is regarded as a manifestation of the deity. In this light it was without doubt viewed by the aboriginal inhabitants of India long before the Aryans invaded this country, and at a later period it attracted likewise the attention of the conquering race. The several formations were eventually considered as representations of various deities, but the Aryans regarded the Sālagrāma mainly as the emblem of Viṣṇu, who is in fact the only Hindu deity actually worshipped in its shape, and who is believed to really dwell in it.[53]

The cause of the existence of so many various specimens of the Sālagrāma will be easily understood, when it becomes clear, that this pebble is a much-water-worn concretion containing Ammonites and other shells such as Brachio-

[53] Sālagrāmagirir Hariḥ, yasmāddharis sthitas tatra prādurbhāvair anekaśaḥ.

We find also the following verses in the Padmapurāṇa:

Sālagrāmaśilāyaṃ tu sadā Śrīkṛṣṇapūjanam,
nityam sannihitas tatra sālagrāmē jagadguruḥ . . .
Sālagrāmaśilārūpī yatra tiṣṭhati Kēśavaḥ,
tatra dēvāsurās sarvē bhuvanāni caturdaśa.

In the *Bṛhannāradīya* the second half is:

"na bādhantē grahās tatra bhūtavaitālakādayaḥ."
Sālagrāmaśilā yatra tatra tīrtham tapōvanam
yataḥ sannihitas tatra bhagavān Madhusūdanaḥ.

Compare also *Dēvīmāhātmya* IX, 24, 76:

Sālagrāmaśilā yatra tatra sannihitō Hariḥ
tatraiva Lakṣmīr vasati sarvatīrthasamanvitā.

A great number of similar ślōkas could be quoted, but these will suffice.

pods. It is represented in three different formations; either as an unbroken pebble, or as one so broken that the fossil shell can be seen inside, or it is merely an outer fragment of the pebble, which shows in its interior the impression of the surface of the shell it previously surrounded.[54]

[54] See *A voyage to the East Indies and China*, translated from the French of Monsieur *Sonnerat*...by Francis Magnus, Calcutta, 1788, Vol. I, pp. 40—42: "The stone of Salagraman is nothing but a petrified shell of the species of *cornes d'ammon*: the Indians suppose it represents Vichenou, because they discover nine different shades which refer to the nine incarnations of that god. It is found in the river of Cachi, one of the arms of the Ganges, it is very heavy, commonly of a black colour, and sometimes violet, the form is oval or round, a little flat, and nearly resembles a touchstone, and is shallow in the inside, there is only a small hole on the outside, but within it is almost concave, and furnished in the interior coats above and below with spiral lines, which terminate in a point towards the middle, and in many these two points touch. Some Indians imagine it is a small worm which works upon the stone in this manner to prepare a habitation for Vichenou. Others have found in these spiral lines the figure of his chakram. These stones are very rare, and the Brahmans fix a great value on them, when they represent the gracious transformations of Vichenou, but when they border a little on the violet, they denote his incarnations in the form of a man, a lion, a wild boar, &c. When that is the case, no follower of this god dares to keep them in his house; the Saniassis alone are bold enough to carry them and to make the daily ceremonies to them. They are kept also in the temples."

Compare the *Miscellaneous Essays* by Colebrooke, London, 1873, Vol. I, p. 173, Note 1, in the article on "the religious ceremonies of the Hindus and of the Brahmins specially." "The śālagrāmas are black stones found in a part of the Gaṇḍakī river, within the limits of Nepal. They are mostly round and are commonly perforated in one or more places by worms, or, as the Hindus believe by Vishṇu in the shape of a reptile. According to the number of perforations and of spiral curves in each, the stone is supposed to contain Vishṇu in various characters . . . In like manner stones are found in the Narmadā, near Onhār māndāttā, which are considered as types of Śiva, and are called Bāṇling. The śālagrāma is found upon trial not to be calcareous, it strikes fire with steel and scarcely at all effervesces with acids." Read also Colonel Wilford's articles on the ancient Geography of India in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XIV, pp. 414, 415: "There are four stones, which are styled *Śaila-māyā*, and are accordingly worshipped, whenever they are found. The first is the *Śaila*, or stone just mentioned (*Śailagrāma*); the second, which is found abundantly in the river *Śoṇa*, is a figured stone of a reddish colour, with a supposed figure of *Gaṇēśā* in the shape of an elephant, and commonly called

In consequence of this fundamental difference a great number of varieties exist, which are arranged into various classes according to the colour (*varṇa*), curl (*cakra*), hole (*bila* or *chidra*), shape (*mūrti*), size (*sthūlasukṣmavibhēda*), circumference (*parimāṇa*), measure (*pramāṇa*), base (*āsana*), line (*mudrā*), separate portions (*avayava*), &c., of the Sālagrāma. Another division is made according to their *habitat*, or place of their origin, whether they belong to the water or to the land, *i.e.*, whether they are *jalaja* or *sthalaja*, and their qualities vary according to this difference.[55]

Ganēśa-cā-paṭhar: the third, is found in the *Narmmada*; and the fourth, is a single stone of rock, which is the *Śaila-māyā*, of the third part of the bow of *Paraśurāma*, after it had been broken by *Rāmachandra*. It is still to be seen, about seven Cos to the N. E. of *Janaca-pura* in *Tairabhucta*, at a place called *Dhanucā-grāma*, or the village of the bow, occasionally called *Śaila-māyā-grāma*, or *grāma*, according to the *Bhūvana-cośa*."

In a letter read at the meeting of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in October 1830, Dr. Gerard of Subathu observed that he had discovered in a lofty position (15,000 feet) of the Himalaya range, an extensive fossil tract of shell formation of which he describes four classes, and of the fourth thus writes: "Belemnites and Orthoceratites mineralized by the same material as the Ammonites (iron clay and pyrites). Their abundance in the beds of mountain torrents, especially the Gundak, has been long known, as they form an indispensable article in the *sacra* of the Hindu *Thakoordwaree*, under the name of 'Salagrama'" (see Charles Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus, London, 1832, p. 176). Compare the Memorandum on the fossil shells discovered in the Himalayan mountains, by the Rev. R. Everest in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVIII, Part II, pp. 107—114, and Observations on the Spiti Valley by Surgeon J. G. Gerard in the same volume, pp. 238—277, where we read on pp. 276, 277; that "before crossing the boundary of Ladak into Basāhīr I was gratified by the discovery of a bed of marine fossil shells resembling oysters and clinging to the back in a similar manner .... on the crest of a pass elevated 17,000 feet."

[55] Mudrākṣētrē parīmāṇam āsanam mūrtibhēdakam,
sthūlasūkṣmavibhēdam ca cakralakṣaṇam ēva ca ...
Varṇarūpādyavayavaiḥ prāmāṇabalilālāñchanaiḥ,
dvāradēśavibhēdēna bhēdaḥ kāsāñcit ucyatē ...
Cakrākāram vinirmāṇam tatra kuryur hi sarvaśaḥ,
jalasthalamatham caiva tacakram trividham smṛtam.
Niṣkēsaram kīṭabhuktam tacakram mathasañjñakam,
idam ēva dvidhā prōktam jalasthalavibhēdataḥ.

The principal marks are the curls, holes, colour and shape. The *cakras*, curls, or spiral convolutions, are of the utmost importance; they are divided into *maṭha* (cell) and *kēsara* (filament). The latter possess superior merit and are ascribed to the water within the stone in which the fabulous *vajrakīṭa* lives.[56] The varieties of curls are considerable and are credited with producing various effects in the fortunes of those who worship stones marked in such a manner. A Sālagrāma may have one to twelve such curls. The Cakranadī is the river which abounds in Sālagrāma-cakras and cakras are according to the legend even found engraved on the heads, backs and bones of the creatures who live there, on men as well as on animals.[57]

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[56] Atrāsti kāraṇam yacca tat tē samyagnigadyatē,
rasam yasyām śilāyām tu sambhuṅktē kiṭakaḥ śanaiḥ.
Prītyā tasyām prajāyēta cakram tat kēsarair yutam,
tasmāt utpadyatē cakram maṭhasañjñam phalālpadam.
Cakrābhyām ca śilā jñēyā śastāśastā vasundharē,
yatprōktam dvividham cakram tatpunar dvividham bhavēt,
jalajasthalajam caiva lakṣaṇam tasya kathyatē.
Susnigdham dīptisamyuktam cakram tajjalajam bhavēt,
karkaśam kṣīṇatējō yat taccakram sthalajam bhavēt.
Ētayōr jalajam śastam nadīparvatayōgataḥ,
madhyamam sthalajam prōktam parvatasyaiva yōgataḥ

[57] Cakrēṇa kambunā vā ca padmēna gadayāṅkitā,
tatra Śrīḥ pratyaham tiṣṭhēt sadā sampat tayā viśēt . . .
Samācakṣva param rūpam cakrāṇām lakṣaṇam munē,
sarvasiddhikaram caiva sarvakāmārthasādhakam.
Lakṣaṇam yacca cakrāṇām tacchṛṇuṣva mahāmunē,
dharmakāmārthamōkṣāṇām puruṣārthaikahētukam.
Gaṇḍakyāścōttarē tirē girirājasya dakṣinē,
kṣētram tu Viṣnusānnidhyam sarvakṣētrōttamōttamam.
Yōjanadvādaśamitam bahutīrthasamākulam,
tatra Cakranadīnāma tīrtham Brahmavinirmitam.
Tasyōttarē mahāśṛṅgam mama prītikaram tathā,
tacchāyābhigatās tatra paṣāṇāśca Khagēśvara,
Saccihnaiścihnitāścaiva taravō dharaṇitalē,
naraṇām api pakṣīndra kiñcit kālanivasinām
Sarvāsthiṣu bhavēccakram mastakē pṛṣṭha ēva ca (*Garuḍapurāṇa*).

The Sālagrāma may be flat, long, small, oval, round, and of rough or of soft surface; one as small as an *Āmalakī* fruit (Emblic Myrobalam) is most highly esteemed.[58] Though generally black, Sālagrāmas of blue, violet, green, yellow, brown, red, white and other colours are also found. So far as the hole is concerned, those stones are particularly valued in which the width of the opening equals one-eighth of the circumference, of less value are those where it equals one-fourth, while those in which it amounts to three-eighths are held to be of indifferent value.[59]

A Sālagrāma without marks is not esteemed,[60] while every good Sālagrāma is worshipped as a sacred place or *kṣētram*.[61] Good and bad qualities are mysteriously connected with the various Sālagrāmas, the same stone can cause prosperity to one individual and destruction to another. I shall content myself with giving below a few examples of the influence ascribed to the Sālagrāma. A soft one fulfils the wishes of the worshipper, a small secures heavenly reward, a cool gives pleasure, a black fame, a red sovereignty, one with a wide hole destroys a family, one with crooked curls creates fear, one in which the cakras are arranged unevenly causes misery, a smoke-coloured makes stupid, a brown kills the wife of its owner, one with many holes turns its worshipper into a tale-bearer.[62] However, not always

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[58] Tasmāt tām pūjayēt nityam dharmakāmārthasiddhayē,
tatrāpyāmalakītulyā sūkṣmā cātīva yā tathā.

[59] Vṛttasūtrāṣṭamō bhāga uttamam cakralakṣaṇam,
madhyamam tu caturbhāgam kanīyas tu tribhāgakam (*Purāṇa-saṅgraha*).

[60] Lāñchanēna vinā yā syāt aprašastā tu sā smṛtā.

[61] Sālagrāmasya yat puṇyam kṣētram trailōkyaviśrutam,
tatrāsti ca Haris sākṣāt sarvadēvais samanvitaḥ.

[62] Compare on this subject the *Sālagrāmalakṣaṇa*, *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa-saṁvāda*, *Mērutantra*, and especially the Compendium *Śrīraṇavīrabhakti-ratnākara*.

Svīyavarṇā śilā pūjyā Brāhmaṇādyaiḥ sukhāptayē,
snigdhā śilā mantrasiddhim rūkṣāsiddhim karōti ca.

the same virtues and faults are in the various descriptions ascribed to the same kind of stones.

A Sālagrāma-stone and a Tulasī plant should be revered in every house, otherwise such a house is like a burning ground,[63] yet two Sālagrāmas together should not be worshipped in one and the same house; a similar rule applies to the liṅga.[64] A Sālagrāma should neither be bought nor sold for a certain fixed price, those who do not observe this precept go to hell.[65] He who offers a Salagrāma as a present is regarded to have given the best

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Mēcakā kīrttihā dhautāṅgāravat sa yaśōharā,
pāṇḍurūpārthaśamanī malinā pāpadhikarī.
Pītā putraphalam dadyāt āravarṇā sutān harēt,
nīlā saudiśatē lakṣmīm dhūmrabhā haratē matim.
Rōgapradā raktavarṇā sindūrābhā mahākalim,
dāridryakāriṇī vakrā samā sarvārthasādhikā.
Sthūlā nihanti caivāyuḥ sūkṣmā svalpamatim harēt,
pūjaphalam lāñchitayā niṣphalā lāñcanam vinā.
Kapilā cittavaikalyam nētrarōgañca karburā,
bhagnā bhaṅgakarī jñēyā bahucakrapamānadā.
Lakṣaṇāntarahīnā ca dēvacakrā viyōgadā,
Vṛhanmukhī kalatraghnī vṛhaccakrā sutān harēt . . .
Cakram vā kevalam padmalāñchanam tvatha vā gadā.
Lāñchanam vanamālā vā Harir Lakṣmyā saha sthitaḥ,
tasmin gēhē na dāridryam na śōkō maraṇād bhayam.
Na caivāgnibhayam tatra grahair duṣṭair na bādhyatē,
antē mōkṣō bhayam tasya pūjanādēva nityaśaḥ.

[63] Yad gṛhē nāsti tulasī sālagrāmaśilārcanam,
śmaśānasadṛśam vidyāt tadgṛham śubhavarjitam . . .
Sa dhanyaḥ puruṣō lōkē saphalam tasya jīvitam,
śālagramaśilā śuddhā gṛhē yasya ca pūjitā.

[64] Gṛhē liṅgadvayam nārcyam gaṇēśatrayam ēva ca,
dvau śaṅkhau nārcayēnnityam na śaktitrayam ēva ca.
Dvē cakrē dvārakāyās tu nārcyam sūryadvayam tathā,
sālagrāmās samāḥ pūjyāḥ na dvayam tu kadācana.
Viṣamā na ca pūjyās tē viṣamē caika ēva hi,
nākṣataiḥ pūjayēt Viṣṇum na kētakyā Sadāśivam.

[65] Sālagrāmaśilāyās tu mūlyam udghāṭayēt kvacit
vikrētā krayakartā vā narakē vai patēt dhruvam.

land circle.[66] It should also not be touched either by a Śūdra, or by an outcast, or by a woman.[67] The sacred stone should be carefully kept apart in a shrine, between Tulasī leaves and wrapt up in a clean cloth. It should be often perfumed and washed, the water used on such an occasion becomes sanctified and fit to be drunk as holy water. The Sālagrāma is to be plentifully supplied with milk, rice and other requisites; this is also done to test the quality and for choosing the proper stone.[68]

The head of the family should at least once a day,[69] after his morning ablutions, or at evening-dawn, offer his prayers to the Sālagrāma. Closing his eyes, he rings the bell to announce the approach of Viṣṇu and to warn the people to stand off, because the god is appearing from the Sālagrāma, which is placed on a small tray or *siṁhāsana* (throne). He supplies the burning lamps with camphor, sprinkles water on himself and on the stone, and offers to the god, while uttering his *mantras* or prayers, *arghya, pādya, ācamanīya, snānīya, pānīya* and *annādikam*.[70]

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[66] Sālagrāmaśilācakram yō dadyāt dānam uttamam,
bhūcakram tēna dattam syāt saśailavanakānanam . . .
Yō dadāti śilām Viṣṇōḥ sālagrāmasamudbhavām,
viprāya vipramukhyāya tēnēṣṭam bahubhir makhaiḥ.

[67] Sālagrāmō na spraṣṭavyō hīnavarṇair vasundharē,
strīśūdrakarasaṁsparśō vajrasparśādhikō mataḥ.
Mōhāt yaḥ saṁspṛśēt śūdrō yōṣid vāpi kadācana,
sa patēt narakē ghōrē yāvat ābhūtasamplavam.

[68] Kṣīrē vā taṇḍulē vāpi śālagrāmam nivēśayēt,
dṛṣṭvādhikyam tayōḥ kiñcit gṛhṇīyāt buddhimān naraḥ.

It is asserted that rice and milk gain in weight, if a Sālagrāma is placed in them.

[69] Sālagrāmam Harēścihnam pratyaham pūjayēt naraḥ.

[70] Such mantras are:

"Ōm bījam svāhā sālagrāmavāsiśrīramāprityarthē viniyōgaḥ. Ōm namō bhagavatē hṛdayāya namaḥ. Viṣṇavē śirasē svāhā, Sālagrāmavāsinē śikhāyai vauṣaṭ. Sarvābhīṣṭaphalapradāya kavacāya hum. Sakaladuritanivāriṇē nētratrayāya vauṣaṭ Sālagrāmāya svāhā. Astrāya phaṭ."

"Ōm namō bhagavatē Viṣṇavē. Sālagrāmanivāsinē sarvābhiṣṭaphalapradāya sakaladuritanivāriṇē Sālagrāmāya svāhā."

He then walks three times from the right side round the Sālagrāma, repeats the thousand names of Viṣṇu, and after finishing his prayers takes his food.

The efficiency of the stone to secure the blessings of this as well as of the next world is firmly believed in by pious Hindus.[71] In consequence of this it is shown to dying persons and water poured on the Tulasī plant is sprinkled on them through the hole of the stone in order to secure to them the benefit of dying in Kāśī;[72] even sinners when they receive it, have their sins condoned,[73] while it confers likewise pleasure on the departed Manes.[74]

The hole or opening of the Sālagrāma, which is in fact its most important feature, is ascribed to the action of the legendary insect *Vajrakīṭa*. The story goes that the divine Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu wandered once in the form of a golden bee or Vajrakīṭa on the surface of the earth. The gods seeing him whirling about with very great splendour, assumed also the shape of golden bees and approached him.

[71] Yaḥ pūjayēt Harim cakrē sālagrāmasamudbhavē,
rājasūyasahasrēṇa tēnēṣṭam prativāsaram.
Yad āmananti Vēdāntā Brahma nirguṇam acyutam,
tatprasādō bhavēt nṛṇām sālagrāmaśilārcanāt.
Kōṭidvādaśaliṅgaiṣtu pūjitaiḥ svarṇapaṅkajaiḥ,
yat syāt dvādaśavarṣēṣu dinēnaikēna tad bhavēt.
Sālagramasamīpē tu krōśamātram samantataḥ,
kīṭakō'pi mṛtō yāti Vaikuṇṭhabhuvanam guha.

[72] Sālagrāmaśilāsparśaḥ kōṭiyajñaphalapradaḥ,
maraṇāt tatsamīpēṣu Kāśītulyaphalam bhavēt.

[73] Api pāpasamācārāḥ karmaṇyanadhikāriṇaḥ,
Sālagrāmārcakā vaiśya naiva yānti yamālayam.
Kāmaiḥ krōdhair madair lōbhair vyāptō yō'tra narādhipa,
sō'pi yāti Harēr lōkam sālagrāmaśilārcanāt.
Sālagrāmaśilām dṛṣṭvā yānti pāpānyaṅkaśaḥ,
siṁhān dṛṣṭvā yathā yānti vanē mṛgagaṇā bhayāt.

[74] Sālagrāmaśilāgrō tu yaḥ śrāddham kurutē naraḥ,
bhavanti pitaras tṛptāḥ kālasaṅkhyā tu naiva hi.

This ślōka occurs in the Matsyapurāṇa, it is also found in the Padmapurāṇa where, however, the second half is as follows: pitaras tasya tiṣṭhanti tṛptāḥ kalpaśatam divi.

The world surrounded by the swarm of bees was set a-whirling and whirled about to such an extent that Viṣṇu afraid of the consequences, assumed the shape of a rock and stopped the moving of Garuḍa and of the gods, upon which Garuḍa entered into a big hole of the rock, followed by all the gods as bees, who made themselves each a separate tenement for the conversion of the infidels.[75]

Lieutenant-Colonel F. Wilford[76] says in his essay *On the ancient Geography of India*: "The origin of this rocky "hill is connected with a most strange legend, which I shall "give in the abstract. *Vishnu*, unwilling to subject himself to the dreaded power, and influence, of the ruler of "the planet *Saturn*, and having no time to lose, was obliged "to have recourse to his *Māyā*, or illusive powers, which are "very great, and he suddenly became a rocky mountain."[77]

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[75] Hiraṇyagarbhō bhagavān ādyō Nārāyaṇaḥ svayam,
vajrakīṭaḥ prabhūtatvāccacāra vasudhātalē.
Sauvarṇam bhramaram dṛṣṭvā dēvās tadrūpadhāriṇaḥ,
upatasthur mahātmānam bhramantam atitējasam;
Ṣaḍaṅghribhir jagatsarvam vyāptam ētaccarācaram,
hiraṇyagarbhabhramarair bhrāmitam bhrāntavat sadā.
Dṛṣṭvā jagatpatir Viṣṇur Vainatēyam sanātanaḥ,
rurōdha śārīrarūpēṇa jagatām hitakārakaḥ.
Niruddhavēgaḥ sahasā pravivēśa vilam mahat,
tasmin praviṣṭē bhramarās tadvilam viviśuḥ śubham.
Cakrus svam svam mahat vēśma kōśākāravat ātmanaḥ,
nāstikānām pratyayārtham vajrakīṭāḥ ṣaḍaṅghrayaḥ (*Dharmasaṁhitā*).

[76] See *Asiatic Researches and Transactions*, Vol. XIV, p. 414 (Calcutta, 1822).

[77] In *A view of the history, literature, and religion of the Hindoos* by the Rev. W. Ward (Madras, 1863) a similar story is given on pp. 174, 175: "The reason why this stone has been deified is thus given in the Shreebhaguvutu:—Vishnoo created the nine planets to preside over the fates of men. Shunee (Saturn) commenced his reign by proposing to Brumha, that he should first come under his influence for twelve years. Brumha referred him to Vishnoo, but this god, equally averse to be brought under the dreaded influence of this inauspicious planet, desired Saturn to call upon him the next day, and immediately assumed the form of a mountain. The next day Saturn was not able to find Vishnoo, but discovering that

"This is called *Śaila-māyā, of a rocky mountain the illusive* "*form,* but *Saturn* soon found him out, and in the shape "of a worm, forced himself through, gnawing every part "of this illusive body. For one year of *Saturn* was *Vishnu* "thus tormented, and through pain and vexation, he "sweated most profusely, as may be supposed, particularly "about the temples, from which issued two copious streams, "the *Crishna* or black, and the *Swéta-Gandácí* or white "Gandácí; the one to the east, and the other to the west. "After one revolution of *Saturn, Vishnu* resumed his own "shape, and ordered this stone to be worshipped, which of "course derives its divine right from itself, without any "previous consecration, as usual in all countries in which "images are worshipped."

The stories told by Colonel Wilford and Rev. W. Ward about Saturn I have not been able to find as yet in any Purāṇa. The Rev. W. Ward is, I think, wrong in ascribing his version to the Śrībhāgavatapurāṇa. My suspicion is that both accounts are made up from different sources and that a legend of Viṣṇu as Mōhinī forms the real basis of the narrative of Colonel Wilford.

In another Sanskrit tale the gods became Vajrakīṭas through the curse of Gaṇḍakī, who in her turn was cursed into becoming a black sluggish river,[78] an allusion per-

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he had united himself to mount Gundukee, he entered the mountain in the form of a worm called vajrukeeta (thunderbolt worm). He continued thus to afflict the mountain-formed Vishnoo for twelve years, when Vishnoo assumed his proper shape, and commanded that the stones of this mountain should be worshipped, and should become proper representatives of himself; adding that each should have twenty-one marks in it, similar to those on his body, and that its name should be shalgramu."

[78] "Kiṭayōnim prapadyēthā" iti gaṇḍakyāḥ surāṇu prati śāpē. Tēna karmavipākēna jaḍā kṛṣṇā nadī bhavēti dēvānām gaṇḍakīm prati śāpē ca jāte Viṣṇunā tatsamādhānāyōktam tathā:

Śṛṇu Brahman, Mahādēva! Śṛṇu dēva Gajānana;
sadguṇau brāhmaṇau grāhamātaṅgau śāpatō' tra vai.
Bhaviṣyatas tayōr mōkṣam bhaviṣyāmi kalēvaram,
śīrṇam bhaviṣyati yadā tanmēdōmajjasambhavāḥ,

haps to the Kṛṣṇa Gaṇḍakī mentioned above. Brahman and Śiva in fact assumed the form of Vajrakīṭas from the marrow and fat of a decayed body, but eventually the curse was removed through the agency of Viṣṇu, the gods resumed their previous forms, and Gaṇḍakī became a pure and sacred river.

The Sālagrāma-stone is in its various forms or *mūrtis* dedicated to the several deities and these forms have special names. The *Bairāgis* or wandering mendicants make the study of these various species their particular business, so much so that they are regarded as the proper authorities in this matter. Except an insignificant minority, all these shapes are dedicated to Viṣṇu, and in many instances more than one variety is ascribed to one and the same kind. There exist thus, so far as I know, 16 varieties of the Kṛṣṇa-Sālagrāma, 13 of Nṛsiṁha, 12 of Rāma, 9 of Nārāyaṇa, 6 of Gōpāla, 4 of Kūrma, Varāha and Sudarśana respectively, 3 of Balarāma, and 2 each of Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Dāmōdara and Vāsudēva. Six and occasionally more shapes are ascribed to Śiva, 5 to Brahman, 2 to Viṣṇu and Śiva collectively, and one each to the Trimūrti, Nara, Lakṣmī, Śēṣa, Sūrya, Guha, Dattātrēya, Kārtavīryārjuna, Dharmarāja, Gaṇēśa, Kuṇḍaliṇī, and to the five household deities (pañcāyatanamūrtayaḥ *i.e.*, to Aditya, Ambikā, Viṣṇu, Gaṇēśa and Mahēśvara).[79]

Pāṣāṇāntargatāḥ kīṭā vajrākhyāḥ prabhaviṣyatha.

See *Vāchaspatya*, compiled by Tārānātha Tarkavāchaspati, Vol. IV, p. 6000 under Śālagrāma.

[79] The names of these mūrtis of the Sālagrāma are:

I, those of Viṣṇu: Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Śvētavarāha, Lakṣmīvarāha, Bhū (Dharaṇi) varāha, Suddhavarāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vidāraṇa Nṛsiṁha, Rākṣasāntakanṛsiṁha, Aghōranṛsiṁha, Mahānṛsiṁha, Vivṛtāsyanṛsiṁha, Kukṣinṛsiṁha, Hāraṇṛsiṁha, Vibhiṣaṇanṛsiṁha, Adhōmukhanṛsiṁha, Kapilanṛsiṁha, Bālanṛsiṁha, Lakṣmīnṛsiṁha, Vāmana, Dadhivāmana, Śāntaparaśurāma, Ugraparaśurāma, Rāmamūrti, Daśaratharāma, Sītārāma, Tārakabrahmasītārāma, Daśakaṇṭhakulāntakarāma. Vīrarāma, Vijayarāma, Hṛṣṭarāma, Kōdaṇḍarāma, Kalināśakararāma, Śrīrāma, Padābhirāma, Śārṅgapāṇi, Balarāma, Pralambhaghna, Bauddha, Kalki,

Kuṇḍaliṇī or Śakti is the same as Bhavānī, and to her two varieties are ascribed. It is even said that Mahādēvī resides in the Sālagrāma.[80] The Sālagrāma-stone is found in Nepal in the upper course of the river Gaṇḍakī, also known as Sālagrāma, and marked on the maps as Sālagrāma river,

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Kēśava, Nārāyaṇa (Mahānārāyaṇa), Śyāmalanārāyaṇa, Lakṣmīnārayāṇa, Naranārāyaṇa, Rūpanārāyaṇa, Vīranārāyaṇa, Māyānārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Gōvinda, Viṣṇu, Mahāviṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Dadhivāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣikēśa, Padmanābha, Dāmōdara, Lakṣmīdāmōdara, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudēva, Śāntavāsudēva, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Puruṣōttama, Adhōkṣaja, Acyuta, Janārdana, Upēndra, Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Bālakṛṣṇa, Gōpālakṛṣṇa, Gōvardhanakṛṣṇa, Trailōkyamōhanakṛṣṇa, Saubhāgyavaradakṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇīkṛṣṇa, Vijayakṛṣṇa, Cūḍāmaṇikṛṣṇa, Sanātanakṛṣṇa, Dhanañjayakṛṣṇa, Pārijātaharakṛṣṇa, Syamantakaharakṛṣṇa, Kaṁsamārdanakṛṣṇa, Kālīyamardanakṛṣṇa, Cāṇūramardanakṛṣṇa, Gōvardhanagōpāla, Śrīgōpāla, Santānagōpāla, Lakṣmigōpāla, Madanagōpāla, Vaṁśagōpāla, Gōvardhanadhara, Vaikuṇṭha, Hayagrīva, Caturbhuja, Puṇḍarīkākṣa, Sudarśana, Śuddhasudarśana Ubhayasudarśana, Samasudarśana, Yōgēśvara, Viṣṇupañjara, Yajñamūrti, Śiṁśumāra, Haṁsa, Paramahaṁsa, Lakṣmīpati, Garuḍadhvaja, Vaṭapatraśāyin, Śēṣaśāyin, Viśvambhara, Pītāmbharadhara, Satyavirāśravas, Amṛtaharaṇa, Garuḍa, Vanamālin, Murāri, Mukunda, Śrīvatsalāñchana, Dharaṇīdhara, Yōgarāja, Śrīmūrti, Śrīsahāya, Dēvadēva, Kapila, Avyaya, Kṣīrābhiśāyin, Musalāyudha, Cakrapāṇi, Bahurūpa, Jagadyōni, Viśvaksēna, Haihaya, &c.

II, those of Śiva: Sadyōjāta, Vamadēva, Aghōra, Tatpuruṣa, Īśāna, Sarvasañjña, Śaṅkara, Candraśēkhara, Sivanābha, Bhava, Tryambaka, Dhūrjaṭi, Śambhu, Īśvara, Mṛtyuñjaya and Rudra.

III, those of Brahman: Paramēṣṭhin, Pitāmaha, Hiraṇyagarbha, Svayambhū and Caturmukha.

IV, the two mūrtis ascribed to Viṣṇu, and Śiva collectively are Harihara and Śivanārāyaṇa.

[80] Śālagrāmān, athō vakṣyē śaktikīṭasamudbhavān,
yēsām pūjanato dēvī *Bhavānī* suprasidati.
Śrīvidyā sā talē cakramūrdhni chatram pradṛśyatē,
vāhyē ghaṇṭāṅkitā mūrdhnā snigdhā śyāmākhilēṣṭadā.
Mahākālī tu sā jñēyā yōnicihnasamanvitā,
dvicchidrādhyā sarvaśilā trikōṇēnāṅkitā ca yā.
Yadāyudhākṛtiścōrdhvam tām dēvīm tatra nirdiśēt,
dēvīśīlā sucakrā yā dakṣamārgēṇa tām yajēt:
Sārjitā vāmamārgēṇa lōkadvayasukhāvahā,
yā cakrarahitā dēvīśilām tām vamatō'rcayēt.

See *Matsyapurāṇa* XIII, 34 C:
Sālagrāmē mahādēvī śivaliṅgē śivapriyā.

a northern tributary of the Ganges. The special portion of the stream where the most valuable and most efficacious stones are found is distinguished by the name of Cakranadī, and said to be twelve yōjanas north of the lower Gaṇḍakī. The whole neighbourhood is highly esteemed and famous for its sanctity, so that a visit to the Śālagrāmatīrtha confers great merit on a man. The mighty king Bharata, however, was disappointed, for he did not obtain the desired happiness by staying in this place. The Gaṇḍakī was known to the ancients as Kondochates, as I have already mentioned elsewhere.[81]

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[81] See p. 114, N. 10, where I hinted that a connection may exist between the name of the river and that of the Gand (Gond) aborigines. Compare also the *Indische Alterthumskunde* von Christian Lassen, Vol. I, Zweite Auflage, 1867, p. 75:

"Der Hauptarm des Flusses entspringt bei Mastang auf dem Plateau-Lande im Norden des *Dhavalagiri*, zwischen welchem und dem *Śvētaghara* er die höchste Kette durchbricht; an ihm ist ein Pass nach Tibet. In seinem obern Laufe bringt er *Śālagrāma* oder Ammoniten-Petrefacte mit sich, in denen der Indische Glaube Verkörperungen des *Vishnu* erblickt; daher seine Heiligkeit und der starke Besuch seiner Wallfahrtsorte; auch wird er selbst *Śālagrāmī* genannt und mit einem Namen des Gottes: *Nārājani*; wie bei der Jamunā und Gangā sind auch an seinem Ursprunge heisse Quellen. Er ist der Hauptstrom des Landes *Nepāl* im weitern Sinne. Das Gebiet ihm im Westen bis zur Rapti heist *Pārvata*, d. h. Bergland, oder *Malajabhūmi*, derselben Bedeutung; darunter nach Süden liegt das Gebiet Kachi. (*Kālagaṇḍikā*, in *Rāj. Tar.* IV, 545, die schwarze Gaṇḍika, wenn nicht etwas anderes darin liegt)." Read also Col. Wilford's: *On the ancient Geography of India*, Asiatic Researches, Vol. XIV, pp. 412, 413, 415: "The *Gaṇḍacī* or *Gaṇḍacāvatī* is called *Gandac* in the spoken dialects, and it is the *Condochates* of *Megasthenes* . . . The name of this stone is written *Śālagrām*, *Śailagrām*, *Śailachacra*, and *Gandacī-Śilā*. People, who go in search of the Sālagrām, travel as far as a place called *Thāccá-cote* at the entrance nearly of the snowy mountains. To the south of it is a village, where they stop, and procure provisions. This village was probably called *Śailapur* or *Śailagrām*, from its situation near a *Śaila* or rocky hill, and from it this famous stone was denominated *Śailagrām*, as well as the river. *Thāccā* is mentioned in *Arrowsmith's* map. The river *Gaṇḍacā* is so called because it proceeds from a mountain of that name. The people of *Naypála* call it *Cuṇḍacī* because it proceeds from the *Cuṇḍa-sthala* or the two

Various ·ends are told about Gaṇḍakī, who appears in different g es as a deity, an Apsaras in the heaven of Kṛṣṇa or Viṣ , as the wife of an Asura, as identical with Tulasī or Vṛn , and as a river. The Śrīdēvībhāgavata contains these stc es in different places, and I have put these accounts here together into one narrative, in order to point out their connection with one another.

Tulasī (or *Gaṇḍakī* according to other accounts) lived as a Gōpī in Gōlōka, the heaven of Kṛṣṇa, who was very fond of her. Rasēśvarī (or Rādhā), another favorite wife of the god, saw once that Tulasī was dissatisfied with her husband, and, angry about cursed her into becoming a mortal.[82]

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cavities, or depressions of the temples of *Vishnu*, in the shape of a mountain, as I observed before."

Daśayōjanavistirṇē mama kṣētrē dvijōttama,
uttarē caiva digbhāgē pramāṇam yōjanam tathā.
Sānunāmā parvatastu cakranāmāṅkitā nadī,
Viṣṇunāmāṁśakōtthāni mama rūpāṇi sarvataḥ,
Trikālam śikharīkūṭaścāpsarōgaṇasēvitaḥ,
Śailamūrtir aham tatra cakrākhyam tu ca yam viduḥ.
Ṣōḍaśair upacāraiś tu tatrārcām saṁvidhāya ca,
gāndharvair vividhaiścaiva saṁstūya Madhusūdanam, &c.—
(*Padmapurāṇa*).

"Gaṇḍakyāścōttarē tīrē girirājasya dakṣiṇē,
kṣētram tu Viṣṇusānnidhyāt sarvakṣētrōttamōttamam,
Yōjanadvādaśamitam bahutīrthasamākulam,
tatra Cakranadīnāmatīrtham Brahmavinirmitam.
Tasyōttarē mahāśṛṅgam mama prītikaram tathā,
tacchāyābhigatās tatra pāṣāṇāśca Khagēśvara."

(*Garuḍapurāṇa*), see p. 341, n. 57. The *Śālagrāmalakṣaṇa* contains also these verses up to *Brahmavinirmitam* or *Brahmaviniścitam* and then continues as follows:

Hiraṇyām vajrakīṭēna nirmitaiścakrasañcayaiḥ,
Śālagrāmaśilās tatra tīrthē tiṣṭhanti saṁyutāḥ.
Cakraiścihnaiśca gacchanti nānāmūrtinidhim priyē,
mūrtibhēdā nigadyantē tatraikāśītināmakāḥ.
Brāhmyaḥ Śaivyō madīyāśca varadānāt samudbhavāḥ,
tāsu mūrtiṣu yā labdhāḥ tatra pūjām carēt budhaḥ.

[82] See *Dēvībhāgavata* IX, 17, 24—26:

24 Rasēśvarī samāgatya dadarśa rasamaṅgalē,
gōvindam bhartsayāmāsa mām śaśāpa ruṣānvitā,

Rādhā had likewise cursed a Gōpa called Dāman, an admirer of Tulasī, causing him to leave heaven and become an Asura.[83] Kṛṣṇa consoled Tulasī, who was aggrieved at the curse, by saying, that, through doing severe penance in her next birth, Brahman would grant her a boon in making her the wife of a person containing a portion (*aṁśa*) of himself (Kṛṣṇa), and that eventually she would obtain her desire to be reunited with the god Nārāyaṇa. In due time Tulasī was re-born in this world as the beautiful and highly gifted daughter of king *Dharmadhvaja* and queen *Mādhavī*, and she went immediately to the Badarī forest to commence a most severe penance in order to obtain Nārāyaṇa as her husband, sitting in the hot summer season between five fires, and during the rainy season in wet clothes night and day exposed to the pouring rain. Altogether her penance lasted one hundred thousand divine years, during 20,000 of which she fed on fruit and water, 30,000 on leaves, 40,000 with an empty stomach on air, and 10,000 on nothing, while standing on one foot. A similar penance is undergone by the sage *Upamanyu*, for the sake of Mahādēva whom he wished to see and whom he placed above all the gods, as the Liṅga of no other god but that of Śiva receives worship. To obtain this desire Upamanyu stood for a thousand years on the tip of his left toe, living for the first three hundred years, first on fruit, then on

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25 Yāhi tvam mānavīm yōnim ityēvam ca śaśāpa ha,
mām uvāca sa Gōvindō madaṁśam ca caturbhujam.

26 Labhiṣyasi tapas taptvā bhāratē Brahmaṇō varāt,
ityēvam uktvā dēvēśō'pyantardhānam cakāra saḥ.

About Tulasī possessing a superior portion of Prakṛti, see *ibidem* IX, 1, 63—70. Rādhā, the favourite of Kṛṣṇa is in the Dēvībhāgavata IX, 1, 44—57 described as one of the five representatives of Śakti.

[83] See *ibidem* IX, 17, 28*b*—29; see p. 354, note 85:

28*b* Sudāmā nāma gōpaśca śrīkṛṣṇāṅgasamudbhavaḥ.

29 Tadaṁśaścātitējasvī lēbhē janma ca bhāratē,
sāmpratam Rādhikāśāpāt dānavaṁśasamudbhavaḥ.

withered leaves and lastly on water, and for the remaining seven hundred on air.[84]

[84] See *Dēvībhāgavata* IX, 17, 14—19*a*:

14 Sarvair niṣiddhā tapasē jagāma Badarīvanam,
tatra dēvābdalakṣam ca cakāra paramam tapaḥ.
15 Manasā Nārāyaṇasyāmī bhavitēti ca niścitā,
grīṣmē pañcatapāṁśitē tōyavāstrā ca prāvṛṣi
16 Āsanasthā vṛṣṭidhārās sahantīti divāniśam.
Viṁśatsahasravarṣam ca phalatōyāśanā ca sā
17 Triṁśatsahasravarṣam ca patrāhārā tapasvinī,
catvāriṁśatsahasrābdam vāyvāhārā kṛśōdarī.
18 Tatōdaśasahasrābdam nirāhārā babhūva sā,
nirlakṣām caikapādasthām dṛṣṭvā tām Kamalōdbhavaḥ.
19 Samāyayau varam dātum param Badarikāśramam.

Compare with this Gaṇḍakīpurāṇa:

(Nārada uvāca): Śrōtum icchāmi dēvēśa Śālagrāmasya lakṣaṇam,
sarvasiddhipradātavyam sarvakāmapraśādhakam.
Karmasthānē samutpannāḥ kē ca kāḥ kaiśca pūjitāḥ,
pūjitaiḥ kim phalāvāptir vidhānam tasya kīdṛśam.
(Brahmōvāca): Divyavarṣasahasram tu ārādhya puruṣōttamam,
tatas tutōṣa bhagavān varadō mē mahāmunē.
Pañcāśatkōṭivistīrṇam bhūcakram Harinirmitam,
saptadvīpāt tu tacchrēṣṭham Jambūdvīpam iti smṛtam.
Navakhaṇḍāt tu tacchrēṣṭham Bhāratam varṣam uttamam,
himasētū tayōr madhyē karmabhūmir ihōcyatē.
Sarvadēvāśrayā bhūmir bhōgamōkṣapradāyinī,
sarvōttamōttamakṣētram sarvatīrthanisēvitam.
Darśanasparśanāt vā syāt sāyujyapadam āpnuyāt,
mahatā tapasā caiva prītō bhavati Mādhavaḥ.
Ājñānuddhāraṇārthāya śālagrāmaśilāpyabhūt,
Gaṇḍakyāścōttarē ramyē girirājasya dakṣiṇē.
Daśayōjanavistīrṇam Harikṣētram dvijōttama,
nīlavarṇā tu niṣkrāntā cakranāmāṅkitā nadī.
Viṣṇupādāmbujāt bhūtvā mahāpātakanāśanī,
sadākālam sthitō Viṣṇus tattīrthē saritō munē.
Tatraiva tatsthitā cakrā nābhidvitricaturyutā,
tatra tīrthē dvija śrēṣṭha sadā sannihitō Hariḥ.

See *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsanaparva, XIV, 168—70:

Tatō'ham tapa āsthāya tōṣayāmāsa Śaṅkaram,
ēkam varṣasahasram tu vāmāṅguṣṭhāgraviṣṭhitaḥ.
Ēkam varṣaśatam caiva phalāhāras tatō'bhavam,
dvitīyam śīrṇaparṇāśī tṛtīyam cāmbubhōjanaḥ.
Śatānām sapta caivāham vāyubhakṣas tadābhavam,
ēkam varṣasahasram tu divyam ārādhitō mayā, . . .

Brahman at last appeared, listened to Tulasī's request, and told her that she would in the form of the Tulasī plant be united with Nārāyaṇa, but would previously become the wife of Śaṅkhacūḍa, who as Sudāman had lived in the Gōlōka and had also there made a severe penance in the Badarī forest.[85] Tulasī was well pleased with the answer Brahman gave her, but still fearing Rādhā, asked and obtained a mantra consisting of sixteen syllables as protection. She then became the wife of Śaṅkhacūḍa for the period of a manvantara. This Asura had meanwhile by his power, founded on a promise given to him by Brahman as a reward of his penance, subdued all the gods and sages, and had oppressed them to such an extent, that in their despair they went to Brahman for protection. He took them to Śiva, and all went to Viṣṇu who was in Vaikuṇṭha. Viṣṇu told them the story of Tulasī and Śaṅkhacūḍa, and gave to Śiva a lance or śūla with which to kill the Asura. Śiva, however, could do this only if the Asura was deprived of his talisman or *kavaca*, which the Asura wore always round his neck, as upon his wearing it, depended his power and his life. In the disguise of a Brāhman, Viṣṇu then visited

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[85] See *Dēvībhāgavata* IX, 17, 30—36.—I translate here *kavaca* talisman and not by armour.

30 Śaṅkhacūḍa iti khyātas trailōkyē na ca tatsamaḥ,
gōlōkē tvām purā dṛṣṭvā kāmōnmathitamānasaḥ,

31 Vilambitum na śaśaka Rādhikāyāḥ prabhāvataḥ,
sa ca jātismaras tasmāt Sudāmābhūcca sāgarē.

32 Jātismarā tvam api sā sarvam jānāsi sundari,
adhunā tasya patnī tvam sambhaviṣyasi śōbhanē.

33 Pascāt Nārāyaṇam śāntam kāntam ēva variṣyasi,
śāpāt Nārāyaṇasyaiva kalayā daivayōgataḥ,

34 Bhaviṣyasi vṛkṣarūpā tvam pūtā viśvapāvanī,
pradhānā sarvapuṣpēṣu Viṣṇuprāṇādhikā bhavēḥ,

35 Tvayā vinā ca sarvēṣām pūjā ca viphalā bhavēt,
Bṛndāvanē vṛkṣarūpā nāmnā Bṛndāvanīti ca

36 Tvatpatraīr gōpigōpāśca pūjayiṣyanti Mādhavam,
vṛkṣādhidēvīrūpēṇa sārdham Kṛṣṇēna santatam.

the demon, and obtained from him the protecting *kavaca*.[86] As soon as Śaṅkhacūḍa was thus deprived of his talisman, Śiva attacked him with the śūla, but the Asura knowing that his life had come to an end, prayed to Kṛṣṇa, and after his death reassumed his previous state as the Gōpa Sudāman in the Gōlōka. The bones of Śaṅkhacūḍa moreover turned to conches or śaṅkhas, which were henceforth deemed so sacred, that Hari and Laksmī are said to reside in all the places where śaṅkhas are found.[87]

Viṣṇu had meanwhile assumed the outward appearance of Śaṅkhacūḍa and had gone to the house where Tulasī resided.[88] She, believing him to be her husband, received

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[86] See *ibidem* IX, 19, 87—91:

87 Ityēvam Śaṅkhacūḍaśca punastatraiva yāsyati,
mahābaliṣṭhō yōgēśas sarvamāyāviśāradaḥ.
88 Mama śūlam gṛhītvā ca śighram gacchata Bhāratam,
Śivaḥ karōtu saṁhāram mama śūlēna rākṣasaḥ.
89 Mamaiva kavacam kaṇṭhē sarvamaṅgalakārakam,
bibharti dānavas śaśvat saṁsārē vijayī tataḥ.
90 Tasmin Brahmastthitēnaiva na kō'pi himsitum kṣamaḥ,
tad yāçanām kariṣyāmi viprarūpō'ham ēva ca.
91 Satitvahānis tatpatnyā yatra kālē bhaviṣyati,
tatraiva kālē tadmṛtyur iti dattō varas tvayā.

[87] See *ibidem* IX, 23, 23—28:

23 Atha śūlam ca vēgēna prayayau tam ca sādaram,
asthibhis Śaṅkhacūḍasya śaṅkhajātir babhūva ha.
24 Nānāprakārarūpēṇa śaśvat pūtā surārcanē,
praśastam Śaṅkhatōyam ca dēvānām prītidam param.
25 Tīrthatōyasvarūpam ca pavitram Śambhunā vinā,
Śaṅkhaśabdō bhavēt yatra tatra Lakṣmīs susaṁsthirā.
26 Sa snātas sarvatīrthēṣu yas snātas śaṅkhavāriṇā,
śaṅkhō Harēr adhiṣṭhānam yatra śaṅkhas tatō Hariḥ.
27 Tatraiva vasatē Lakṣmīr dūrībhūtam amaṅgalam,
strīṇām ca śaṅkhadhvanibhīs śūdrāṇām ca viśēṣataḥ.
28 Bhītaruṣṭā yāti Lakṣmīs tatsthalāt anyadēśataḥ.
Śivō'pi dānavam hatvā Śivalōkam jagāma ha.

The *Indian Antiquary* contains in Vol. XVI, pp. 154—156, a popular version of this legend, in which the hero is called Jālandhara and Tulasī appears as Vṛndā.

[88] See *ibidem* IX, 24, 2*b*—3*a*:

2*b* Śaṅkhacūḍasya kavacam gṛhītvā Viṣṇumāyayā,
3*a* punar vidhāya tadrūpam jagāma tatsatīgṛham.

him with all the affection due to him as such, but eventually discovered that she had been deceived by an impostor, and in her rage, owing to his hard-heartedness, she cursed him so that he became a stone. Viṣṇu had great difficulty in appeasing her, and in proving that whatever had happened, was due to previous fate, which had destined her to become the wife of Śaṅkhacūḍa in order to obtain afterwards Nārāyaṇa as her husband, which she had herself desired in her previous birth; for after her death, which was imminent, her body would become the river Gaṇḍakī, and her hair would be turned into the Tulasī plant. Viṣṇu, moreover, reunited with her in the Gaṇḍakī river, would be with her in the form of the Sālagrāma-stone, while the Gaṇḍakī would become a pure and holy stream, and known as such throughout the world.[89]

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[89] See *ibidem* IX, 24, 23*b*—25*a*, 28—36, 56—58:

23*b* Hē nātha tē dayā nāsti pāṣāṇasadṛśasya ca,
24 chalēna dharmabhaṅgēna mama svāmī tvayā hataḥ,
Pāṣāṇahṛdayas, tvam hi dayāhīnō yataḥ prabhō.
25 Tasmāt pāṣāṇarūpas tvam bhavē dēva bhavādhunā . . . .
28 (Śrībhagavān): Tapas tvayā kṛtam bhadrē madarthē Bhāratē ciram,
tvadarthē Śaṅkhacūḍaśca cakāra suciram tapaḥ.
29 Kṛtvā tvām kāminīm sō'pi vijahāra ca tatkṣaṇāt,
adhunā dātum ucitam tavaiva tapasaḥ phalam.
30 Idam śarīram tyaktvā ca divyadēham vidhāya ca,
Rāmē rama mayā sārdham tvam Ramāsadṛśī bhava.
31 Iyam tanur nadīrūpā Gaṇḍakīti ca viśrutā;
pūtā supuṇyadā nṝṇām puṇyē bhavatu Bhāratē.
32 Tava kēśasamūḍhaśca puṇyavṛkṣō bhaviṣyati,
Tulasīkēśasambhūtā tulasīti ca viśrutā.
33 Triṣu lōkēṣu puṣpāṇām patrāṇām dēvapūjanē,
pradhānarūpā Tulasī bhaviṣyati varānanē.
34 Svargē martyē ca pātālē gōlōkē mama sannidhau,
bhava tvam Tulasī vṛkṣavarā puṣpēṣu sunnadī.
35 Gōlōkē virajātīrē rāsē bṛndāvanē vanē,
Bhāṇḍīrē Campakavanē ramyē candanakānanē
36 Mādhavī kētakī kunda mālikā mālatīvanē,
vāsas tē'traiva bhavatu puṇyasthānēṣu puṇyadaḥ . .

In fact the other Purāṇas pay more attention to the penance of Gaṇḍakī than to that of Tulasī, the object of both being so far the same, as both penances are undertaken to obtain Viṣṇu as a husband. In the Varāhapurāṇa, however, Gaṇḍakī expresses a wish to become the mother of Viṣṇu and the same desire is mentioned in the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇasaṁvāda.[90] The Padmapurāṇa contains a story according to which Indra sent the nymph *Mañjuvāc*[91] to disturb the penance of the sage *Vēdaśiras*, who

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56 Aham ca śailarūpēṇa Gaṇḍakītīrasannidhau
adhiṣṭhānam kariṣyāmi Bhāratē tava śāpataḥ.
57 Kōṭisaṅkhyās tatra kiṭās tīkṣṇadaṁṣṭrā varāyudhaiḥ,
tacchailakuharē cakram kariṣyanti madīyakam.
58 Ēkadvāram catuscakram vanamālāvibhūṣitam,
navīnanīradākāram Lakṣmīnārāyaṇābhidham.

90 Gaṇḍakyāpi purā taptam varṣāṇām ayutam vidhō.
Śīrṇaparṇāśanaṁ kṛtvā vāyubhakṣyanantaram.
Divyam varṣaśatam tēpē Viṣṇum cintayatī tadā.
Tataḥ sākṣājjagannāthō Harir bhaktajanapriyaḥ
Uvāca madhuram vākyam pritaḥ praṇatavatsalaḥ,
Gaṇḍaki tvam prasannō'smi tapasā vismitō'naghē!
Tatō himāṁsō, sā dēvī Gaṇḍaki lōkatāriṇi,
prāñjaliḥ praṇatā bhūtvā madhuram vākyam abravīt.
Yadi dēva prasannōsi dēyō mē vāñchitō varaḥ,
mama garbhagatō bhūtvā Viṣṇō matputratām vraja.
Tataḥ prasannō Bhagavān cintayāmāsa gōpatē,
kim yācitam nimnagayā nityam matsaṅgalubdhayā.
Dāsyāmi yācitam yēna lōkānām bhava mōkṣaṇam.
Ityēvam kṛpayā dēvō niścitya manasā svayam
Gaṇḍakīm avadat pritaḥ śṛṇu dēvi vacō mama.
Sālagrāmaśilārūpī tava garbhagataḥ sadā.
Tiṣṭhāmi tava putratvē bhaktānugrahakāraṇāt,
matsānnidhyāt nadīnāmtvam atiśrēṣṭhā bhaviṣyasi.
Darśanāt sparśanāt snānāt pānāt caivāvagāhanāt,
hariṣyasi mahāpāpam vāṅ manaḥ kāyasambhavam (*Varāhapurāṇa*).
In the *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇasaṁvāda* Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu says:
Gaṇḍakītapasā tuṣṭāḥ putratvēnāgatā vayam.

91 Āsīt atītakalpē vai munir *Vēdaśirā* mahān,
Gaṅgātīrē tapas tīvram kurvan lōkasukhāvaham . .
Tattapōbhītacittēna Mahēndrēṇa nṛpātmaja,
prēṣitā *Mañjuvāg dēvī* dēvakanyā manōharā . . . .
Tatsparśarōmāñcitadēham ēnam jñātvā svavaśyam nijabāhupāśam

when he perceived her intention to distract him by her beauty from his penance, cursed her that she might become a river, but moved by her supplication that it was not her fault, she being only a servant of Indra, altered his decision in so far that she should become the holy river Gaṇḍakī, in which according to the curse of Bṛndā (or Tulasī) Viṣṇu would be reborn as the Sālagrāma-stone.

So much about the connection which unites the worship of the Sālagrāma-stone with Viṣṇu. Considering the comparatively late date when Viṣṇu was identified with the Sālagrāma-stone, it must long before have attracted the attention of the aborigines and been used by them as an object of worship, with this difference, however, that they regarded it as representing the female energy, their highest deity. Traces of this cult are in fact still extant, for various Sālagrāmas are devoted to the principle of Śakti, when personating Bhavānī and Kuṇḍalinī.

How and when the Sālagrāma became the emblem of Viṣṇu is quite another question which is the more difficult to answer, when we consider the changes which Viṣṇu, who

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tatkaṇṭhapārśvē nidadhē tadāsau bubōdha cātmānam anaṅgavidḍham.

Tatas tu krōdhatāmrākṣō munir Vēdaśirā mahān,
avaṣṭabhyātmanātmānam śaśāpainām mahātapāḥ.
Taraṅgaśitalatarā bhujadvayasamanvitā,
śṛṅgārahrādini bhūtvā vikṣipantī mamōpari.
Kāmakuṇḍē majjayantī kṣōptukāmā bhavāmbudhau,
yannadīva samāhṛṣṭā tannadī bhava bhāmini.
Ēvam śaptā tu sā dēvī *Mañjuvāk* khinnamānasā,
pratyuvāca munim dīnā prasādayāpatat padōḥ.
Parādhīnāsmi bhō Brahman prīticēṣṭām prakurvatī,
vinayāvanatā vāpi na śāpārhā prasīda mē.
Tadōvāca munih śāntō nadī bhūtvā Janārdanam,
svōdarē dhārayantī ca kṛtakṛtyam janam kuru.
Sālagrāmaśilārūpī Viṣṇus tvayi janiṣyati,
tvadyaśōvistarō lōkē muktidātā nṛṇāṃ iha . . .
Saivaisā *Mañjuvāg* dēvī Gaṇḍakī saritām varā,
tasyām Viṣṇuḥ śilārūpī Bṛndāśāpāt babhūva ha.

first appears on the religious horizon of the Aryans as a Vedic Āditya, must have undergone in the estimation of a considerable portion of the Aryan population in India. However, so much seems clear, that, at whatever period we are inclined to fix the adoption of the Sālagrāma as an emblem of Viṣṇu, it must have been assumed at a considerably later day than the liṅga, which was most likely in some way or other already known to the ancient Aryans of India as a divine representation, and we are the more justified in this opinion, as the liṅga worship spread over the whole world, while that of the Sālagrāma must have been originally confined to this country, even if the worship of this stone should be found existing beyond the borders of India, for the Sālagrāma-stone is a product peculiar to India. As a connection between Śiva and the liṅga did not exist in the earliest worship of Śiva, the representation of Viṣṇu by the Sālagrāma-stone must even be ascribed to later period. The changes in religious dogmas and the acceptance of new emblems of worship are of great historical importance, however difficult it may be to account for them. I believe that the adoption of the Sālagrāma-stone by the Vaiṣṇavas was made to mark their opposition to the worship of the liṅga, and, if this assumption is true, the Vaiṣṇava emblem must have been adopted at a later period, than was the liṅga by the Śaivas.

On the Modification of the Worship of Viṣṇu.

And this is also the place to consider and allude to the strange transformation which Viṣṇu, the second person of the Trimūrti, has undergone in the religious tenets of a very considerable, if not the most numerous, section of the Brahmanic community of India. No doubt Viṣṇu represents the preserving principle, and preservation can be appropriately regarded as one of the chief qualities of the female principle. Yet there is still a great gulf between

the admission of the latter and the identification of Viṣṇu with the female energy which the Smārta Brāhmans revere in him. It is unnecessary here to lay stress on the various legends in which Viṣṇu appears in the guise of the beautiful Mōhinī,[92] one of which is even directly connected with the origin of the Gaṇḍakī river and the Sālagrāma-stone—a legend which for its indecency is hardly equalled by any other I know—as there exists early and indisputable evidence on this point.

In consequence of the sacredness of its text, of the highest importance is in this respect a mantra of the Ṛgvēda (X, 184, 1) which is repeated at the close of the wedding ritual.[93] It is also found in a passage of the mantrapraśna of the Kṛṣṇayajurvēda, *i.e.*, in the fifth verse of the thirteenth chapter of the Āpastambagṛhya-sūtra. Viṣṇu is here mentioned in connection with the female organ. This mantra goes back to a far distant age and is in consequence significant as it prepared the mind to still more important modifications of the position of Viṣṇu. The peculiar wording of the Vedic text need not necessarily imply that Viṣṇu is to be regarded as the representative

[92] Three occasions are specially noted when Viṣṇu appears as Mōhinī, one is connected with the churning of the ocean, the other with Śiva's visit as a begging brahmacārin in the Dāruka forest, and the third with the giant Bhasmāsura. The Śivarahasya relates these legends at some length.

[93] See Ṛgvēda, X, 184, 1—3.

1. Viṣṇur yōnim kalpayatu tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi piṁśatu,
   ā siñcatu prajāpatir dhātā garbham dadhātu tē.
2. Garbham dhēhi sinīvāli garbham dhēhi sarasvati,
   garbham tē aśvinau dēvāvā dhattām puṣkarasrajā.
3. Hiraṇyayī araṇī yam nirmanthatō aśvinā,
   tam tē garbham havāmahē daśamē māsi sūtavē.

(1. Viṣṇu may form the womb, Tvaṣṭā may shape the forms, Prajāpati pour in (the seed), Dhātā may lay on thee the germ. 2. Grant germ, Sinīvālī, grant germ o Sarasvatī, the two Aśvins, the gods, may grant the germ with flower garland, 3, which with golden wood the Aśvins elicit, that thy germ we call for bringing it forth in the tenth month.)

of the *yōni*, because the word *kalpayatu* can be explained as signifying taking care of, or protecting.[94] In the Rudrahṛdayōpaniṣad, however, Viṣṇu is identified with Umā,[95] who elsewhere is explained to represent the female organ. The above mantra is recited and addressed on the night of the nuptial ceremony to the bride and bridegroom, when sitting on their bed.

I need not specially mention that in the vēdikā-liṅga the base immediately under the liṅga is assigned to Viṣṇu, and that Brahman resides beneath him.

I deem it necessary to make these remarks in order to explain the various aspects in which Viṣṇu can be and is actually viewed at present by the various Hindu sects.

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[94] The common explanation is *garbhādhānakṣamam karōtu.*

[95] See *Rudrahṛdayōpaniṣad :*

Rudrasya dakṣiṇē pārśvē Ravir Brahmā trayō'gnayaḥ.
Vāmapārśvē Umā dēvī Viṣṇuḥ Sōmō'pi tē trayaḥ.
Yā Umā sa svayam Viṣṇur yō Viṣṇuḥ sa hi Candramāḥ.
Yē namasyanti Gōvindam tē namasyanti Śaṅkaram.
Yē'rcayanti Harim bhaktyā tē'rcayanti Vṛṣadhvajam.
Yē dviṣanti Virūpākṣam tē dviṣanti Janārdanam.
Yē Rudram nābhijānanti tē na jānanti Kēśavam
Rudraḥ pravartatē bījam bījayōnir Janārdanaḥ.

Compare also the following ślōka from the *Ēkākṣarōpaniṣad :*

Tvam viśvabhūr yōniparō'si garbhē kumāra ēkō viśikhassudhanvā
vitatya bāṇam taruṇārkavarṇam vyōmāntarē bhāsi hiraṇyagarbhaḥ.

The *Vaidikāgama* ascribed to Parāśara contains the following verses in explanation to the above quoted Vedic mantra :—

Viṣṇur yōnir iti śrutvā liṅgapīṭham samīritam,
ādipīṭham bhavēd Brahman, Māyāpīṭham tu madhyamam,
Ūrdhvā vēdir Viṣṇupīṭham Viṣṇur yōnir iti śrutiḥ.

With this compare the following ślōka in the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana-parvan, XIV, 235 :

Pulliṅgam sarvam Īśānam strīliṅgam viddhi cāpy Umām,
dvābhyām tanubhyām vyāptam hi carācaram idam jagat.

It is not necessary to quote further evidence in support of these views; this fact should, however, not be overlooked, that the Smārtas while regarding Viṣṇu as the representative of the female energy do not intend to throw any slur on the character of that deity, whom they themselves daily worship with the greatest reverence.

Viṣṇu is painted of a dark blue colour, with four hands, two of which are open and empty, for granting consolation and conferring gifts; in the other two he holds a *cakra* and a *śaṅkha*, of which I have spoken already. On his head he wears a crown and on his forehead the Kastūri mark. His whole body is covered with pearls, jewels, gold and silver, and his garment is embroidered with gold, from the shoulders downwards garlands of flowers and of sālagrāma-stones encircle his body, while with his feet he rests on a lotus flower.

As Viṣṇu has retained his popularity among the people, his worship being very widely spread, and his thousand names uttered with piety by millions of his worshippers, the manifestations in which he is revered are also of necessity very numerous. Many non-Aryan superstitions, however, have crept into his worship and are held sacred by his followers. Without entering now further into this subject, I wish to draw attention only to the adoration offered to him as Tirumala, Perumāl, Viṭṭhōbha, Veṅkōba (Veṅkaṭeśa), or Ballāji and others. His connection also with the Aiyanār legend proves the influence of the Gauda-Dravidian element, which had to be considered when expanding his worship among foreign non-Aryan tribes of the population.

On Viṣṇu's Wives.

Lakṣmī is the well-known and renowned wife of Viṣṇu. She possesses as Viṣṇu's Sakti all the female powers, and is specially famous as the goddess of beauty. As Mahālakṣmī she combines the eight kinds of prosperity and is as such called *Aṣṭalakṣmī*. These eight prosperities are (1) *Mahālakṣmī*, the great Lakṣmī, that is herself, from whom the others depend; (2) *Dhanalakṣmī*, the goddess of wealth; (3) *Dhānyalakṣmī*, the goddess of grain; (4) *Dhairyalakṣmī*, the goddess of venture; (5) *Vīralakṣmī*, the goddess of

bravery; (6) *Vidyālakṣmī*, the goddess of wisdom; (7) *Santānalakṣmī*, the goddess of progeny; and (8) *Bhāgyalakṣmī*, the goddess of fortune. Lakṣmī is represented as the wife of Viṣṇu at every avatāra where he is regarded as married. As *Lakṣmī* she appeared in the avatāra of Narasiṁha; as *Sītā* in that of Rāma; as *Dhāraṇī* (Bhūmi) in that of Paraśurāma; as *Rukmiṇī* in that of Kṛṣṇa; and as Padmā when Viṣṇu was an Āditya. According to one legend she was the daughter of *Dakṣa* or of *Bhṛgu*, while, according to another, she sprang from the sea of milk when the gods churned the ocean to obtain the drink of immortality, or she with her friends arose from the amṛta at the same time as the Amṛtaliṅga came into existence. Lakṣmī is on account of this coincidence regarded as the sister of Śiva.[96]

Viṣṇu possesses also two other consorts, Bhūmidēvī and Nīlā. The former is the goddess of the earth and the mother of everything which exists on it. She is the prototype of humility and she carries patiently her burden. She is revered, especially in South India and invoked as a witness of everything that happens on earth. She is represented with two hands, one of which hangs down empty,

[96] Lakṣmī is des[illegible] an aṁśa of Śakti in *Dēvībhāgavata* III, 6, 40—51, and also *ibid.* [illegible]22—28.

22. Śuddhasatt[illegible]yā Padmā sā paramātmanaḥ,
sarvasamp[illegible]tadadhiṣṭhātṛdēvatā.
23. Kāntātidān[illegible]uśīlā sarvamaṅgalā
lōbhamōhak[illegible]āhaṅkāravarjitā.
24. Bhaktānura[illegible]paty[illegible]sarvābhyaśca pativratā
prāṇatulyā [illegible]avataḥ[illegible]mapātram priyamvadā.
25. Sarvasasyāt[illegible]dēvī jīva[illegible]ōpāyarūpiṇī
Mahālakṣmī[illegible]kuṭhē [illegible]iśēnā ratā satī.
26. Svargē ca s[illegible]mīśca [illegible]alakṣmīśca rājasu,
gṛhēṣu gṛhal[illegible]martyā[illegible]m gṛhiṇām tathā.
27. Sarvaprāṇiṣu[illegible]śōbhārū[illegible]pā manōharā
prītirūpā [illegible]ām prabhārūp[illegible]ā nṛpēṣu ca.
28. Vāṇijyarūpā[illegible]ṇijām pāpinām ka[illegible]ahāṅkurā
dayārūpā ca kathitā dēvōktā sarvas[illegible]ammatā.

while the other holds a lotus flower. Her skin is brown, her face red; on her head she wears a crown, and she stands on a lotus flower. In her dress and ornaments she resembles the other goddesses. She is worshipped in the temples, her image standing on the left side of Viṣṇu, while that of Lakṣmī is on his right. She may be connected with the Aryan Dhāraṇī, Dēmētēr or Ceres, or perhaps with the Gauda-Dravidian goddess of the earth, who plays such an important part, especially among the Gonds.[97]

Nīlā is also called Nāgnajitī, the daughter of Nagnajit, the king of the Gāndhāras, she stands with Bhūmi on the left side of Viṣṇu. She is of green-colour and especially revered in the southern part of South India.[98]

CHAPTER XVI.

On Rudra or Śiva.

General Remarks.

Rudra, the howler or roarer, who, armed with a strong bow shoots fleet unerring arrows at the wicked, occurs in various hymns of the Ṛgvēda, either as a distinct separate deity

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[97] In the Bhūsūkta she is described as [illegible] adorned with jewels and garments of different colours, se[illegible] lotus (or with four arms), with swelling breasts, with eyes l[illegible]ies carrying ears of corn and wearing a parrot.

Śyāmām vicitrāmśukaratnabhūṣaṇām[illegible]
Padmāsanām (*or* caturbhujām) turg[illegible]rvitām
Indīvarākṣīm dhṛtaśālimañjarīm [illegible]añjarīm)
Śukam dadhānām vasudhām bhaj[illegible]e.

[98] Bhagavad Rāmānujācārya desc[illegible] the [illegible] goddesses Srī, Bhū, and Nīlā as follows in his work *Nit*[illegible] "Bha[illegible]tam praṇamya dakṣiṇataḥ Śrīm Śriyai nama iti gōrōca[illegible]varṇām[illegible]m āvāhya praṇamya, vāmē ōm Bhūm Bhūmyai nama iti [illegible]yāmām[illegible] tatraiva nīm Nīlāyai nama iti haritavarṇām Nīlām ōm [illegible] sarvāb[illegible]avaddivyamahiṣībhyō nama iti sarvā bhagavaddivyamah[illegible]ṣīssam[illegible]aṇamēt iti", as quoted in the *Gōpāladēśikāhnikam*.

In Dēvibhāgavata IX, 1, 93*b*–96*a* Vasundharā [illegible]ified as possessing a superior share of Prakṛti.

or as Agni. His energetic sons are the swift Maruts. Though generally appearing as a destroyer of men and cattle, he is likewise revered as the greatest of physicians dispensing healing medicines. He is therefore also called the benevolent and auspicious, or *Śiva*; however, he is not mentioned in the Ṛgvēda as Śiva.[99] He is likewise called *Śaṅkara*, the propitious, and revered as *Bhava*, a deified king, or the bowman *Śarva* (who both are often mentioned together), as *Nīlakaṇṭha* or *Nīlagrīva*, whose throat turned blue by swallowing the poison at the churning of the ocean, as *Giriśa* (*Girīśa*), the lord of the mountain, as *Paśupati*, the lord of cattle, and as *Mahādēva* or *Mahēśvara* he is identified with the supreme spirit, yea even with Viṣṇu; eventually he is even called the creator of Brahman and Viṣṇu. He destroys the castles of the Asuras, he fights with Viṣṇu as well as with Kṛṣṇa, and is worshipped by both these gods, as he is also by Brahman. At times he is identified with Viśvakarman, when Viśvakarman appears as a mortal or of earthly origin. With the various forms of Rudra may be compared the various Rudras who are mentioned together in the Ṛgvēda along with the Vasus and Ādityas, and, as in the case of Viṣṇu, these different names represent different gods who in course of time have been all merged into the great supreme deity, the dread member of the Hindu Trimūrti. By those who do not worship him, he is regarded as an offspring of either Brahman, Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. In every Kalpa he is, differing in color, born as a kumāra from Brahman. Śiva is now generally represented white, though as *Kāla* or *Mahākāla* (time) he appears black. As *Ardhanārīśa* his body is half male, half female, uniting in himself the principles of generation. His body is surmounted by one or by five heads decorated with a crown. With these five faces which represent Brahman, Viṣṇu,

[99] This name may have also been given to Rudra euphemistically.

Rudra, Maheśvara and Sadāśiva correspond the five actions ascribed to him. These actions are creation, preservation, destruction, vanishing and grace.[100] As Pañcānana[101] he has fifteen eyes, ten arms and hands, two hands are empty, with the four hands on the right he holds a deer, a lance, a tambourine and a sword respectively, and in those on the left a battleaxe, a trident, fire and a shield. When represented with one face he has generally four hands,[102] two of which appear empty in a blessing and fear-forbidding attitude, while in the other two he carries an antelope and battleaxe, or a trident and a noose. His other emblems are a rosary, a boar's tusk, a human skull, &c. He has three eyes, the third standing high in the middle of his forehead representing as it were, the three varieties of time, the past, present and future.[103] On his forehead he wears three

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[100] See *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, pp. 96 and 97:

Pañcavidham tatkṛtyam sṛṣṭisthitisaṁharaṇatirōbhāvāḥ
tadvadanugrahakaraṇam prōktam satatōditasyāsya. (97)

and: anugrahatirōbhāvādānalakṣaṇasthitilakṣaṇōdbhavalakṣaṇakṛtyapañcakakāraṇam. (96)

[101] Śiva is called, when represented with five faces, Pañcamukha, Pañcavaktra, Pañcānana, Pañcāsya, etc. As no special temples are dedicated to Rudra, Maheśvara, and Sadāśiva, these three are under the name of Īśvara revered as Śiva; see p. 385 on the five-faced liṅga.

[102] To Śiva are at different times assigned two, four, eight or ten arms and hands; his image at Elephanta representing him as Mahākāla has eight arms, two of which are broken, four hold a human figure, a sword, a basin and a sacrificial bell, while the remaining two draw a veil which covers the sun and causes the destruction of the world.

[103] As such he is called Trikālajña (also the name of Kṛṣṇa), Tricakṣus, Triṇayana (Trinayana), Trinētra, Trilōcana, Tryakṣa and Tryambaka. Similarly are Zeus and Jupiter called Triophthalmos and Trioculus. According to a widely spread legend Śiva placed a third eye on his forehead to prevent a re-occurrence of the calamity which happened to the world once when Pārvatī in play covered his two eyes with her hands. Śiva is described in the *Dēvībhāgavata* III, 3, 11—13, IX, 2, 83—88 and elsewhere:

11 Nirgatō- bhagavān Śambhur vṛṣārūḍhaḥ trilōcanaḥ
pañcānanō daśabhujaḥ kṛtasōmārdhaśēkharaḥ.

parallel white stripes, the *Tripuṇḍra* or Vibhūti and a moon's crescent near his central eye. His body is decked with jewels and gold and silver ornaments; as a necklace he wears a string of flowers or a serpent and over his shoulders hangs a garland of skulls. His abdomen covered with a coloured cloth, and a golden girdle encircling his waist, he stands with his two feet on a water lily.

He goes under many names; the Mahābhārata contains a thousand and eight of them, and manifold are the occupations assigned to him, high and honorable as well as low and disreputable, for he is styled the general of the gods, the king of the Bhūtas, and also the lord of thieves, assuming indeed occasionally the garb of the latter. In the braids of his hair he intercepted on his head the Gaṅgā, which was descending from heaven and kept her there confined for some time until as Bhāgīrathī she descended below to the earth. To preserve the gods he swallowed, as already mentioned, the poison which was at the Kūrma-avatāra ejected by the serpent Vāsuki. To save the world from sudden darkness when Pārvatī had covered his eyes, he placed a third eye on his forehead. To him as well as otherwise to Brahman is assigned the highest of the fourteen

12. Vyāghracarmaparīdhānō gajacarmōttarīyakaḥ
pārṣṇirakṣau mahāvīrau Gajānanaṣaḍānanau.
13. Śivēna saha putrau dvau vrajamānau virējatuḥ,
nandiprabhṛtayas sarvē gaṇapāśca varāśca tē.
83. Śuddhasphaṭikasaṅkāśaḥ śatakōṭiraviprabhaḥ
triśūlapaṭṭiśadharō vyāghracarmāmbarō Haraḥ,
84. Taptakāñcanavarṇābhō jaṭābhāradharaḥ paraḥ
bhasmabhūṣitagātraśca sasmitaḥ Candraśēkharaḥ,
85. Digambarō nīlakaṇṭhaḥ sarvabhūṣaṇabhūṣitaḥ
bibhraddakṣiṇahastēna ratnamālām susaṁskṛtām,
86. Prajapan pañcavaktrēṇa brahmajyōtiḥ sanātanam
satyasvarūpam śrīkṛṣṇam paramātmānam īśvaram,
87. Kāraṇam kāraṇānām ca sarvamaṅgalamaṅgalam
janmamṛtyujarāvyādhiśōkabhītiharam param.
88. Samstūya mṛtyōr mṛtyum tam yatō mṛtyuñjayābhidhaḥ
ratnasiṁhāsanē ramyē samuvāsa Haraḥ puraḥ.

worlds, or the seventh of the upper worlds commonly known as Satyalōka, the world of the good and virtuous.[104] His favorite abode, in fact the paradise of Śiva, is the top of the high Kailāsa mountain, which is often frequented by Kubēra.

His power is supreme, and his vigor is increased by hymns. The most sacred Vedic text, the Gāyatrī, has been adapted for his special glorification.[105] A person who does not revere

[104] See Note 19 on p. 301.

[105] These altered versions of the Gāyatrī are mainly extant in the Nārāyaṇīyōpaniṣad (a portion of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka) and in the Liṅgapurāṇa. In the former extract the deities invoked are: Rudra, Danti, Nandi, Ṣaṇmukha, Garuḍa, Brahman, Viṣṇu, Narasiṁha, Āditya, Agni and Durgi (standing for Durgā). The prayers in the Liṅgapurāṇa begin and end with Śiva (Rudra) and his wife Gaurī (Durgā), and after the verses in honour of his sons, vehicle and follower, come those concerning Viṣṇu, Brahman and six guardians of the quarters of the world, with the omission of Kubēra and Īśāna (Śiva), instead of whom stand Rudra and Durgā. As I shall return to this subject I quote here in full those passages.

Nārāyaṇīyōpaniṣad I, 5—7 (Telugu edition, pp. 824, 825):

Puruṣasya vidmaḥ sahasrākṣasya mahādēvasya dhīmahi tannō *Rudraḥ* pracōdayāt. Tatpuruṣāya vidmahē vakratuṇḍāya dhīmahi, tannō *Dantiḥ* pracōdayāt. Tatpuruṣāya vidmahē cakratuṇḍāya dhīmahi tannō *Nandiḥ* pracōdayāt. Tatpuruṣāya vidmahē mahāsēnāya dhīmahi tannaḥ *Ṣaṇmukhaḥ* pracōdayāt. Tatpuruṣāya vidmahē suvarṇapakṣāya dhīmahi tannō *Garuḍaḥ* pracōdayāt. Vēdātmanāya vidmahē hiraṇyagarbhāya dhīmahi tannō *Brahmā* pracōdayāt. Nārāyaṇāya vidmahē vāsudēvāya dhīmahi tannō *Viṣṇuḥ* pracōdayāt. Vajranakhāya vidmahē tīkṣṇadaṁṣṭrāya dhīmahi tannō *Narasiṁhaḥ* pracōdayāt. Bhāskarāya vidmahē mahādyutikarāya dhīmahi tannō *Ādityaḥ* pracōdayāt. Vaiśvānarāya vidmahē lālīlāya dhīmahi tannō *Agniḥ* pracōdayāt. Kātyāyanāya vidmahē kanyakumāri dhīmahi tannō *Durgiḥ* pracōdayāt.

With respect to *Kātyāyanāya* and *Durgiḥ* Sāyaṇa says in his commentary that the expression Kātyāyanāya refers to the worship of Durgā that Durgi stands for Durgā, and that the Vedic language is not strict in its forms (Durgām prārthayatē *Kātyāyanāya* iti . . . Durgiḥ Durgā liṅgādivyatyayaḥ sarvatra chāndasō draṣṭavyaḥ).

See *Liṅgapurāṇa* II, 48, 4—5 (Telugu edition, p. 396):

4. Śaktīnām sarvakāryēṣu yōnikuṇḍam vidhīyatē
   Gāyatrīm kalpayēcchambhōḥ sarvēṣām api yatnataḥ
5. Sarvē Rudrāṁśajā yasmāt saṅkṣēpēṇa vadāmi vaḥ.
   (Mantram. Gāyatrībhēdāḥ:)
   Tatpuruṣāya vidmahē vāgviśuddhāya dhīmahi tannaḥ Śivaḥ pracōdayāt.

Śiva does not obtain final beatitude.[106] He seizes his victims at a sacrifice, and accepts even human creatures as offerings. He is shunned and feared in consequence of his violence and fierceness. He cursed and turned to ashes Kandarpa, the god of love; offended by Dakṣa, his father-in-law, he interrupted and nullified his sacrifice, and in the shape of Vīrabhadra cut off his head; he pulled out the beard of

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Gaṇāmbikāyai vidmahē karmasiddhyai ca dhīmahi tannō Gaurī pracōdayāt.

Tatpuruṣāya vidmahē mahādēvāya dhīmahi tannō Rudraḥ pracōdayāt.

Tatpuruṣāya vidmahē vakratuṇḍāya dhīmahi tannō Dantiḥ pracōdayāt.

Mahāsēnāya vidmahē vāgviśuddhāya dhīmahi tannaḥ Skandaḥ pracōdayāt.

Tīkṣṇaśṛṅgāya vidmahē vēdapādāya dhīmahi tannō Vṛṣaḥ pracōdayāt.

Harivaktrāya vidmahē rudravaktrāya dhīmahi tannō Nandī pracōdayāt.

Nārāyaṇāya vidmahē Vāsudēvāya dhīmahi tannō Viṣṇuḥ pracōdayāt.

Mahāmbikāyai vidmahē karmasiddhyai ca dhīmahi tannō Lakṣmīḥ pracōdayāt.

Samuddhṛtāyai vidmahē viṣṇunaikēna dhīmahi tannō Dharā pracōdayāt.

Vainatēyāya vidmahē suvarṇapakṣāya dhīmahi tannō Garuḍaḥ pracōdayāt.

Padmōdbhavāya vidmahē vēdavaktrāya dhīmahi tannō Sraṣṭā pracōdayāt.

Śivāsyajāyai vidmahē dēvarūpāyai dhīmahi tannō Vācā pracōdayāt.

Dēvarājāya vidmahē vajrahastāya dhīmahi tannaḥ Śakraḥ pracōdayāt.

Rudranētrāya vidmahē śaktihastāya dhīmahi tannō Vahnih pracōdayāt.

Vaivasvatāya vidmahē daṇḍahastāya dhīmahi tannō Yamaḥ pracōdayāt.

Niśācarāya vidmahē khaḍgahastāya dhīmahi tannō Nirṛtiḥ pracōdayāt.

Śuddhahastāya vidmahē pāśahastāya dhīmahi tannō Varuṇaḥ pracōdayāt.

Sarvaprāṇāya vidmahē yaṣṭihastāya dhīmahi tannō Vāyuḥ pracōdayāt.

Sarvēśvarāya vidmahē śūlahastāya dhīmahi tannō Rudraḥ pracōdayāt.

Kātyāyanyai vidmahē kanyakumāryai dhīmahi tannō Durgā pracōdayāt.

Ēvam prabhidya gāyatrīm tavaddēvānurūpataḥ.

Professor Albrecht Weber first drew attention to these Gāyatrīs in the first volume of his *Indische Studien*, and Dr. J. Muir has treated on this subject in his *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. III, pp. 263, 264, and Vol. IV, pp. 425—430.

[106] Sivapūjām vinā jantōḥ muktir naiva bhavēt bhuvi (Sūtasaṃhitā). Śiva is addressed by his worshipper with the following prayer:

Vandē Śambhum Umāpatim suragurum, vandē jagatkāraṇam, vandē pannagabhūṣaṇam mṛgadharam, vandē paśūnām patim, vandē sūryaśaśāṅkavahninayanam, vandē mukundapriyam, vandē bhaktajanāśrayam ca varadam, vandē Śivam Śaṅkaram.

Bhṛgu who had offended him by his laughter, he tore out the eyes of Bhava after he had felled him to the ground, and beat out the teeth of Pūṣan who, while laughing, had shown his teeth.[107]

Śiva is worshipped all over India. In the North he is revered in the Himālaya, who, personified as the god of the mountain, is the father of his wife Umā or Pārvatī. At Gaṅgādvāra, where the earthly Gaṅgā breaks through the mountain peaks, his shrine is crowded with pious believers. Celebrated temples of Śiva are in Gōkarṇa in the West, in Kaliṅga in the East, and South-India abounds particularly in sacred places devoted to his worship. If the number of localities and of shrines dedicated to Śiva affords an estimate of the extent of his popularity, he must be certainly considered the most generally revered god of the Indian pantheon, and his worshippers rank among the most powerful portion of the Indian population. This popularity he also owes greatly to the qualities ascribed to him, qualities which appeal particularly to the sympathy of the aboriginal inhabitants. And in fact of all the three gods of the Trimūrti it is Śiva, who, by his intimate connection with the earth, represents chiefly the Non-Aryan or Turanian element in the Hindu theogony, and he does this in his capacity of lord of the mountain and master of the ghosts. The worship of the ancient Gauda-Dravidians was specially celebrated on mountain tops, his wife Pārvatī was the mountain goddess *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, while to their son Subrahmaṇya are sacred all the hills and mountain peaks.

To Śiva are ascribed twenty-five various forms or *līlās*, and according to the Liṅgapurāṇa also twenty-eight avatāras.[108]

[107] With this legend is connected the custom of cooking rice in milk (*pālpoṅgal*) in the Poṅgal festival, in order to present it to the toothless *Pūṣan*.

[108] They are called: Candraśēkhara, Umāpati, Vṛṣabhavāhana, Mahātāṇḍava, Girijākalyāṇa, Bhikṣāṭana, Manmathadahana, Kālamardana,

When worshipping Śiva, his followers draw with ashes of cowdung the Vibhūti on their foreheads, and place in the middle of the second line a black dot or akṣata. They also besmear their bodies with sandal-powder and hang a rosary of rudrākṣa-berries (rudrākṣamālā) round their necks. Śiva is, however, principally adored in the form of the liṅga.

On the Liṅga.

The emblem of his worship is the liṅga. Its origin in India is shrouded in mystery, and the opinions of competent scholars are greatly divided whether to ascribe to it an Aryan or a Non-Aryan source.

There occur in the Ṛgvēda two words which have been connected with the liṅga, the terms *śiśnadēvāḥ* and *vaitasa*.[109] No competent authority applies the expression *śiśnadēvāḥ* to the Non-Aryans, as if the god they adored was the śiśna or *membrum virile*. The commentary ascribed to Sāyaṇa gives as its meaning *unchaste men*, though we are not compelled to abide by this rendering. Professor *von Roth* translates it in German as *Schwanzgötter*, implying by this expression, that the original term should be taken sarcastically as priapic or sensual demons. *Śiśna* signifies

Khan[illegible][110]
mūrti,

About the A[illegible]andhara[illegible]raṇa, Mahāliṅga, Dakṣā[illegible]varaharaṇavīra-
28 avatāra[illegible]rdhanārīśvara, Brahmaśirōhaṇa, Kaṅkāladhara,
Jaigīṣ[illegible]āna, Cakradāna, Gaṇēśa, Sōmākanda, Naṭēśa, Sukha-
[illegible]ti and Gaṅgādhara. Compare Note 24, p. 308.

[illegible]vatāras see Liṅgapurāṇa, VI. 30—35, and XXIV. These [illegible]as are: Śvēta, Sutāra, Damana, Śihōtra, Kaṅkaṇa, Lōkākṣi, [illegible]avya, Dadhivā hana, Ṛṣabha, Munī, Ugra, Atri, Subālaka, Gautama, V[illegible]dasīrṣa, Gōkarṇa, Guhāvāsin, Śikhaṇḍabhṛt, Jaṭāmālin, Aṭṭahāsa, Dāruka, Lāṅgalin, Mahākāya, Śūlin, Muṇḍīśvara, Sahiṣṇu, Sōmaśarman and Lakulin.

109 See about *śiśnadēvāḥ* Ṛgvēda VII, 21, 5 and X, 99, 3, and about *vaitasa* Ṛgvēda X, 95, 4 and 5.

110 Sāyaṇa to Ṛgvēda VII, 21, 5: "Śiśnadēvāḥ śiśnēna dīvyanti krīḍanti iti śiśnadēvāḥ, abrahmacaryāḥ ityarthaḥ, tathā ca Yāskaḥ . . śiśnadēvāḥ abrahmacaryāḥ." *Durga*, the commentator on the Nirukta, explains *śiśnadēvāḥ* by: śiśnēna nityam ēva prakīrṇābhiḥ strībhiḥ sākam krīḍanta

The word *vaitasa* reed, occurs in the conversation between Urvaśī and Purūravas twice euphemistically in the sense of *membrorum virile*. However much light these expressions may throw on the moral and social character of the ancient Aryans, they throw none whatever on the nationality of the liṅga worship, which according to its very nature need not have been confined to any particular tribe or race.

The Rev. Dr. Stevenson[111] in various essays and especially in that entitled the Ante-Brahmanical religion of the Hindus was one of the first to suggest that the worship of Śiva, and especially his worship in the form of the Liṅga was of Non-Aryan and not of Aryan origin. He pointed out that "Siva is not named at all in the ancient "Hymns of the Vēda, and therefore we have no evidence "that such deity was worshipped by the ancient Brahmans. "Although Rudra must be held as identified with Agni, "Agni cannot be identified with the Siva of the Puranas. "The place that Siva now occupies in the Saiva system, "and Vishnu in the Vaishnava, was held in ancient times "by Soma. How very different the rank attributed to "Rudra and how clearly he is identified with Si[illegible] "the Linga Purána, the composition of one of [illegible] von "appears from very page. The D[illegible] es scheint ein [illegible] Professor [illegible] in the

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āsatē śrautāni karmāṇyutsṛjya. See *Jāska's Nirukta* [illegible] Rudolph Roth, Göttingen, 18[illegible], p. 47: "Die çiçnadeva, w[illegible] spottender Name für geschwänzte oder wollüstige Demonen." A. Ludwig translates *śiśnadēva* by "Phallus vererer." For *śiśna* [illegible] sense of *tail* see Ṛgvēda I, 105, 8.

[111] See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. VIII, p. 330—339.

In the *Sanatkumārasaṁhitā* we find the following verses:

Kim kartavyam manuṣyēṇa jagatkāraṇapūjanam
śiśnōpasthākṛtiṁ [illegible]yam jagatkāraṇam aiśvaram,
Mūrtitrayaikyam vijñēyam sarvavēdātmakam param
sapāṇipīṭham sandh[illegible] siyaliṅgam samacayēt.
Viśvarūpō mahēśānas tēna prīṇāti Śankaraḥ.

"he had all the Rudras present with him, though he had "not invited Śiva, and that none of the ancient Munis "except Dadhícha, looked on Śíva as possessing any right "to a share in the sacrifice, and that, moreover, his sacred "rites were not performed after the Brahmanical method. "If it is impossible to identify Śiva with any of the gods "of the Veda, much less is it possible to trace any connec- "tion between the symbol of the Liṅga, under which he "is usually adored, and any of the ancient Brahmanical "emblems. There is an obscure intimation in the Liṅga-Puráṇa itself, that the worship of the Linga was only introduced at a late period. Our conclusion from these authorities in reference to the worship of Śiva is strengthened by the fact, that the sacred places considered as "the peculiar residence of Jyoti-Liṅgas, are generally in "the south and north-east of India, at a great distance "from the originally Brahmanical Settlements, to the "north of the Ganges and west of the Sarasvati, none "being nearer than Mount Abu in Guzarat; and that the "south of India is almost the only place where the sect of "the Lingāyats abounds; and that in the south and east "of India the worshippers of Śiva and his incarnations, "are far more numerous than those of Vishnu, while in the "north-west the contrary is the case. That the Liṅga is "not originally a Brahmanical object of worship, seems to "me very evident by a fact that I have not seen noticed, "but which as far as the Maráthi country, where Saivas greatly prevail, is concerned, I can vouch for from an "extensive observation; it is, that no Brahman officiates "in a Liṅga temple. The Brahmans alone officiate as "image dressers in the temples of Vishnu, and of all the "gods connected with the ancient Brahmanical worship; "but for the temples of the Liṅga, a distinct order of men "originally of Śudra origin have been set apart, and form "now a separate caste under the name "Guravá."

The late Professor Christian Lassen thought that the liṅga was an emblem peculiar to the aboriginal inhabitants of India, as it is particularly used by Śiva's worshippers in South India, and because Brāhmans never officiate in South India as priests in such liṅga-temples.[112] He further speaks of a goddess *Mahāsahā*, the mother of the gods, which is revered in the shape of a *liṅga* or of a Phallus.[113] The word Mahāsahā appears to stand for *Mahiṣahā*, a popular form for *Mahiṣaghnī*, slayer of the demon Mahiṣa, which is an epithet of Durgā; however, I do not know anything about her connection with the liṅga-worship. Professor Lassen's opinion was mostly founded on the statements of the Rev. Dr. Stevenson. The Rev. Dr. Germann, in his

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[112] See Christian Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, pp. 924, 925 (old edition, p. 783); "*Çiva* ist auch ein Vertilger der bösen Geister. Die Verehrung dieses Gottes unter dem Bilde des *linga*, des *Phallus*, wird schon in mehreren Stellen des grossen Epos erwähnt. Da dieses Symbol besonders bei den Verehrern des *Çiva* im südlichen Indien im Gebrauche ist, lässt sich vermuthen, dass es bei den Urbewohnern sich vorfand und erst später auf *Çiva* übertragen worden ist. Was dafür spricht, ist dieses, dass noch jetzt die Brahmanen des Südens nie bei Tempeln, in welchem das *linga* verehrt wird, das Amt des Priesters annehmen." Compare *ibidem*, Vol. IV, pp. 233, 237, and 617: "Die Verehrung des *Çiva* zählt in dem grossen Gebiete im Norden des *Vindhya* jetzt wenig eifrige Anhänger, obwohl es eine bedeutende Zahl von ihm geweiheten Tempeln giebt, in denen er in der Gestalt des *linga* oder des Phallus angebetet wird; eine Ausnahme bildet nur sein Tempel in *Benares*, wo er den Namen *Viçveçvara*, d. h. Herr des Alls, führt. Dagegen waltet heut zu Tage der Kult dieser Gottheit in Dekhan vor."

[113] *Ibidem*, Vol. IV, p. 265: "Ferner in dem Dienste der *Holi* und der *Mahāsahā* genannten Göttinnen; das Fest der ersten Göttin ist einem Carneval ähnlich; die zweite Göttin gilt als Mutter der Götter und wird in der Gestalt eines *linga* oder eines Phallus angebetet." The Rev. F. Kittel, in his excellent essay *Ueber den Ursprung des Lingakultus in Indien*, Mangalore, 1876, remarks on pp. 9, 10: "Mit Bezug auf die im nordwestlichen Dekhan verehrte Göttin *Mahāsahā* muss der Schreiber dieses bekennen, dass er eine solche nicht kennt, wie es auch Andern ausser ihm geht. Der Name selbst ist indess Sanscrit: 'sie die mächtig ashält,' oder: 'sie die mächtig siegt.' Dieser Name deutet auf einen arischen character." The Marathi *Mahisa* stands for the Sanskrit *Mahiṣa*.

edition of Ziegenbalg's *Genealogy of the Malabar Gods,* supported the opinion of his predecessors and tried to strengthen the argument in favor of the Non-Aryan origin of the liṅga by the statement that Rāvaṇa, the representative of the aborigines of South India was according to the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the Rāmāyaṇa, a staunch votary of the liṅga, carrying in fact always with him a golden liṅga which he worshipped with incense and flowers. He also refers to the legend according to which Rāvaṇa was waylaid by Gaṇapati at Gōkarṇa when he was on his way to Laṅkā and compelled to leave the Prāṇa-Liṅga, which he had extorted from Śiva by his severe penance at the first named place on the Western coast.[114] I have alluded to this story previously and given the version supplied by the late Hon. Viśvanāth Nārāyan Mandlick, and I also referred to an account contained in the Archæological Survey of India concerning the temple of Mahadēva Rāvaṇēśvara at Baijnāth in Bengal.[115]

[114] See *Genealogie der Malabarischen Götter* . . von Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, erster Abdruck besorgt durch Dr. Wilhelm Germann, Madras, 1867, p. 156, Note: "Von Rāvana dem Vertreter der südlichen Ureinwohner wird in Uttarakānda Rāmāyanam erwähnt, dass überall wohin er ging, ein goldnes Linga mit ihm getragen wurde, welches er mit Weihrauch und Blumen verehrte. Ferner die Sage, nach welcher Vināyaka in etwas bübischer Weise dem Ravana die übliche Verehrung abzwingt, zeigt ihn uns ein Linga nach Lanka bringend (freilich angeblich von Kailāsa), der Tempel welches Linga jetzt Gokarna heissen soll (Saiva Sam. V, V, III. Fr. 18 ff). Also Ravana erscheint immer mit dem Linga."

Another *Rāvaṇa*, the son of Indrajit, the third king of Kaśmīr after Gōnanda III (perhaps identical with King Kaniṣka of the Śaka era) erected the *Vaṭēśvara liṅga*.

[115] See above, pp. 136–138. I have alluded there to the legend given in the Archæological Survey of India, Vol. VIII, pp. 143—145, and as it contains some peculiar items, I now quote it below: "Rāvana used daily to go to Uttara Khanda (*sic!!!*) to worship Śiva. One day he went there, and in the exuberance of physical strength he shook the mountain, disturbing Pārvatī. Having done this, he went towards Śiva's abode to worship; when he approached, Nandi forbade his advance, as Śiva and Pārvatī were asleep together. Rāvana, however, was not to be denied;

Dr. John Muir and the Rev. F. Kittel were, according to my opinion, the first to point out the error of these views,

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he told Nandi that he being in the place of a son to Śiva, there was no har... in his going in at any time. Saying this and pitching away Naudi to a dis... ance, he entered. Śiva was much pleased at his courage and firm faith, and desired him to ask a gift. Rāvana said, 'It is a long distance for me to come daily from Lanka to worship you here, be pleased to go to Lanka and a... bide there.' Śiva consented on the condition that Rāvana was to carry him all the way, without for a moment setting him down. Rāvana glad... took up the lingam, and proceeded, when he arrived at Lájhuri villag... near the place where the temples stand (the village is now known as Harlá... huri), he felt it necessary to go to the fields; he could not carry the linga... do. In this ... with him and pollute it, and he was cogitating what to do. In this ... mergency Vishnu, who saw that if Rāvana succeeded in carrying Śiva ... to his kingdom he would become invincible, assumed the guise of a poo... Brahman, and being accosted by Rāvana, and requested to hold the ling... for a few minutes, while he went a short way, the pre-tended Brahman agreed. Rāvana now made over the lingam to the Brahman, an... went aside. While Rāvana was engaged, the Brahman quickly walke... away with the lingam, arriving finally at the spot where the great tem... stands, there he set the lingam down and vanished. Rāvana on retu... at the expiration of the whole day (for Varuna had entered into h... and occupied him all that time in letting out the sea of waters withi... him) found the Brahman gone. After some search he found the lingam, but on attempting to lift it up, Śiva reminded him of the agreement between them and refused to stir. Rāvana enraged, pressed the lingam down, saying, 'Since you wont go to Lanka, go to Pātāla instead.' This is the mark which exists on the summit of the lingam to this day. The lingam thus established became known as Mahadeo Rāvaneśvara. In course of time the site of the lingam was overgrown with jangal, and no one but a poor gwāla knew of its existence. This man, Baiju by name, used to dwell in the vicinity, living on roots and fruits; he was ordered by Mahadev in a vision to worship him; the poor man accordingly used to bring Bel leaves for the worship daily, but having no vessel to bring water, used to bring water for the libation in his mouth. This strange libation, however, did not please Śiva, who after much patient endurance, complained to Rāvana of the gwāla's treatment. Rāvana came, washed the lingam with water from Haridwār, and ordained that thenceforth none but Ganges water from the Tirthas of Haridwār, Gangotri, and Dasāsumeth (Ajodhya) was to be poured on the lingam. Śiva at last was pleased with the untiring devotion of Baiju Gwāla, and offered to give him any gift he should ask. The independent gwāla replied ... grant that henceforth my name should precede yours. From that day, the lingam known as Rāvaneswara came to be known as Baijnāth."

so far as the worship of the liṅga is concerned. The extent of the area in which the liṅga cult prevails at present, cannot be adduced as a reason, that it did not previously exist elsewhere or that the liṅga was not worshipped in the north-west and north, but only in the north-east and in the south of India. As a proof that the liṅga was worshipped in the north by Aryans, may be quoted the sage *Taṇḍi* who revered Mahādēva in the Kṛtayuga on the Himālaya mountain, and *Upamanyu*, who visited the hermitage of Taṇḍi, and was one of the most fervent believers in the divine power of the liṅga But also many holy liṅga shrines in the south are ascribed to or connected with holy Aryan sages and heroes. The sage Ṛśyaśṛṅga revered thus the liṅga of *Candraśēkhara* in a temple near Śṛṅgēri-maṭham in Mysore; the *Saptakōṭīśvaraliṅga* at Narvem in the Portuguese territory of Gōa is by the legend ascribed to the Saptarṣis the *Rāmaliṅga* at Rāmēśvaram is said to have been erected by Dāśaratha Rāma, and a great number of liṅgas in the Koṅkaṇa country were established by Paraśurāma.[116]

With respect to Rāvaṇa, even if he is at times reviled as a Rākṣasa, it must not be forgotten that he is through his grandfather Pulastya, the great grandson of Brahman, that he obtained his power, though he abused it later on, by his pious penance, and that in spite of the unholy life he led, he was burnt according to Brahmanical rites. If Rāvaṇa is on the other hand regarded as the representative of the aboriginal population, and I quite agree in this view, he may well have been a worshipper of Śiva, as *Bhūtēśa* or *Bhūtanātha*, the lords of the demons or ghosts, but I believe that his representation as a worshipper of the liṅga, is a

[116] See *Original Sanskrit Texts*, by J. Muir, D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D., Vol. II, pp. 202, 391, IV, pp. 189—196, 405—420, and *Ueber den Ursprung des Lingakultus* von F. Kittel, pp. 2, 4—8.

later addition, though it is to be found in the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa.[117]

The Paulastya Rāvaṇa stands besides not alone in his worship of Śiva, for the Asura *Bāṇa* is also mentioned as a devoted follower of Śiva together with the cowherd *Caṇḍa*.[118]

The existence and worship of Śiva as a great Brahmanical Hindu deity is no less a matter of historical certainty, than is the fact that Śiva had been separately revered for a considerable length of time, before he was connected with the liṅga. The origin and development of the cult of Śiva as the chief of the demons, or Bhūtas, is no doubt mainly due to the Non-Aryan demon worshipping population of India, yet, however many Non-Aryan elements are mixed with the present Śaiva religion, its association with the liṅga need not be due to Non-Aryan influence. For it is a remarkable and indisputable fact, that, while the Non-Aryan aborigines are on the whole throughout the country adherents of the worship of *Śakti*, or female energy, as exemplified by their adoration of Grāmadēvatās, a worship which united with that of the ghosts, demons or devils, fills the mind of terrified man with an indescribable awe of the mysterious forces of nature contained in the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, an awe which manifests itself in the reverence paid to serpents, trees and

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[117] The ślōkas in the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (XXXI, 42, 43) are:

Yatra yatra ca yāti sma Rāvaṇō rākṣasēśvaraḥ,
jāmbūnadamayam liṅgam tatra tatra sma nīyatē.
Bālukāvēdimadhyē tu talliṅgam sthāpya Rāvaṇaḥ,
arcayām āsa gandhais ca puṣpais cāmṛtagandhibhiḥ.

[118] After the performance of the Pañcāyatanapūjā the remaining portions of the offering are presented to Śiva's attendants with this half verse:

Bāṇa-Rāvaṇa-Caṇḍēśa-Nandi-Bhṛṅgiriṭādayaḥ.

Nandi is the son of the Brāhman Śilāda and Bhṛṅgi, an incarnation of Gāyatrī, is a dancer in the heaven Kailāsa.

stones,—there exists hardly any evidence to show that these same people worshipped the liṅga or the organ of generation, and even at the present day we cannot point out any aboriginal tribe, who has retained intact its national customs, as revering the Phallus. On the other hand it is well known that in all the famous liṅga-temples in South-India at least, if not in the whole of India, the priestly office has been and is still filled by Brāhmans, and yet it is well known that Brāhmans do not like, as a rule, to have anything to do with the administration of the property of Śiva; an illustration of this antipathy supplies the Tamil proverb *Śiva sottu kulanāśanam*, the property of Śiva is the ruin of a family.[119]

Such liṅga temples are spread all over India in great numbers. Among these are celebrated the *Kēdārēśaliṅga* on the Himālaya, the *Vaidyanāthaliṅga* at Deograh in Bengal, the *Viśvēśvaraliṅga* in Benares, the *Mahākālaliṅga* and *Amarēśvaraliṅga* in and near Ujjain in Mālva, the *Oṁkāraliṅga* on the Narmadā, the *Sōmēśvaraliṅga* at Somnāth in Surāṣṭra, the *Tryambakaliṅga* near Ṇasik and the *Bhīmaśaṅkaraliṅga* near the source of the Bhīma in Mahārāṣṭra, the *Mahābalēśvaraliṅga* at *Gōkarṇa* in Kanara, the *Mallikārjunaliṅga* at Śrīśaila in Karnūl, the *Rāmaliṅga* at Rāmēśvaram in Madura. The south of India possesses moreover five holy liṅgas representing the five elements earth, *pṛthivī*, water, *ap*, fire, *tējas*, wind, *vāyu* and air, *ākāśa*, respectively at Kāñcī or Kañjivaram, Jambukēśvaram or

[119] See *Ziegenbalg* in Dr. Germann's edition, p. 31: "In den Pagoden darf Niemand anders dem Linga opfern, als nur Brahmanen, denn solche Figur steht im allerinnersten oder heiligsten der Pagode." With respect to Dr. Stevenson's remark that no Brāhmans officiate in liṅga—while they do in Viṣṇu temples Dr. Muir observes *loco citato* IV, p. 407 (Note): "This distinction does not, I think, exist in Northern India. In the temple of Viśveśvara, at Benares, the officiating priests, if I am not mistaken, are Brahmans. The same is the impression of Professor Fitz-Edward Hall, with whom I have communicated on the subject."

Tiruvānaikāval between Trichinopoli and Śrīraṅgam, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai or Aruṇācala, Kālahasti and Chidambaram.[120]

There exists, it is true, a particular and widely-spread sect of worshippers of the liṅga, the so-called Liṅgāyats, a sect which arose about the end of the twelfth century and which mainly consists of Non-Aryan Śūdras, but the founder of this sect was a Brāhman, the famous *Basava*, who left his caste in order to teach to Śūdras and to despised Holeyas the doctrine of Śiva and the liṅga, and to elevate them after their conversion to respectable castemen or kulajas.[121]

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[120] Compare F. Kittel's *Lingakultus*, pp. 5, 6; the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 15, where a *Gautamēśaliṅga* of unknown place is mentioned among the twelve liṅgas, while the Mahābalēśvaraliṅga at Gōkarṇa is omitted.—*Tiruvārur* in Tanjore claims also the ākāśaliṅga.

[121] See Rev. F. Kittel's *Lingakultus*, pp. 11, 12: "Zu Ende des 12ten Jahrhunderts bildete sich, nach dem Sturze der westlichen Cālukya-Dynastie, in Kalyāṇa die *Sekte der Liṅgāytas* (der jetzigen Rechnung nach Śūdras) in opposition gegen bestehende Heterodoxie (bauddha und jaina) und Orthodoxie; und in ihren zahlreichen Liṅga-Tempeln fungiren keine Brahmanen. In den alten, d. h. brahmanischen, Liṅga-Tempeln dagegen, sind die pūjāris *ausschliesslich* Brahmanen oder Áryas; und in diese Liṅga-Tempel, z. B. der zu Gokarṇa und alle die obgenann a, sind es, welche zu allgemeiner Berühmtheit gelangt sind. Auch Liṅgāytas können sie besuchen, aber dürfen nicht hinein; es scheint aber, dass zur Zeit der ersten Kraft der Sekte in dieser Beziehung ein Unterschied stattfand;" and pp. 31, 32, 33: "Um gleich etwaigen Vermuthungen in dieser Beziehung vorzubeugen, bringen wir hier die Thatsache herein, dass nach geschichtlichen Zeugnissen *noch im Beginn des* 13. *Jahrhunderts p. Chr. die anārischen Śūdras, und Holeyas* (d. i. Unreine, die unter den Śūdras stehen) in Kalyāṇa unter dem jaina-vaishṇava Könige Bijjala I als Klassen *keine Liṅga-Verehrer* waren, der Stifter der liṅgāyta Sekte aber, Basava, ein geborner Brahmane, *auf Kosten seiner Kaste und seines Rufes*, es darauf anlegte ihnen dadurch, dass er sie zu solchen, respective *Liṅgāytas*, machte, eine höhere Stellung in der Gesellschaft zu geben ... Die Tendenz des Basavapurāṇa ist darzuthun, dass Basava das *Privilegium der Áryas unmittelbare Liṅga-Verehrer zu sein*, auch auf die Anāryas ausdehnen, oder das Liṅga zum Gemeingut Aller machen wollte, wenn auch meist aus sectirerischen Rücksichten. Es war der erste und letzte derartige Versuch."

Though we possess no irrefutable proof that the ancient Aryans of India were acquainted with the worship of the organ of generation, or that they worshipped it themselves, the circumstance that the word *liṅga* which is now generally used in this meaning, is not found in this sense in the earlier Sanskrit writings, but in those belonging to a later period, and that as applied to the divinely revered representative of Śiva, the term *liṅga* occurs only in some not very old portions of the Sauptika-, Śānti and Anuśāsana-parvans of the Mahā ārata, in the last part (*Uttarakāṇḍa*) of the Rāmāyaṇa and in similar places,[122] does not offer sufficient evidence to assume, that the ancient Hindu Aryans were not acquainted with, or did not worship, the Phallus.

It is equally difficult to state when the liṅga cult became prevalent in India, as it is to fix the time when the worship of Śiva coalesced with that of the liṅga. That Śiva was revered in the form of the liṅga in the North before the first century B.C. appears pretty certain, for his worship seems to have been the state-religion in Kaśmīr in the time of King Kaniṣka. However, as India had for three centuries been then already subject to Grecian influence, and as the Phallus-worship prevailed among the Greeks, it was possible that the Hindus obtained it from their conquerors, yet no evidence exists to prove such an assertion.

In fact the worship of the male member was known all over the world. The Phœnician legend of Adonis, the Phrygian of Athys, the Egyptian of Osiris (or perhaps of Khem), and many others of a similar kind bear testimony to this fact. The Hebrew custom of circumcision represents originally a like idea. Derived no doubt from Egypt, it offers an example how a simple surgical operation can be transformed into a religious performance of the highest

[122] See Sanskrit-Wörterbuch von O. Böthlingk, and R. Roth; Vol. VI, p. 540, under *liṅga*.

sanctity by establishing it as a sign of a covenant between God and the house of Abraham, thus depriving this ceremony of every taint of indecency and lasciviousness. And in a similar manner the cult of the *membrum virile* was also viewed by the wise men and priests of Egypt, and by the esoteric liṅga worshippers of India, with many of whom it is unconnected with sensuality. The common mass on the other hand takes everywhere delight in the exhibition of coarse and vile practices to which must be counted the indecent Phallic processions in Egypt, Greece and Italy. Melampūs, the son of Amytheōn, introduced according to Herodotos the worship of Dionysos, and the procession of the Phallus first from Egypt into Greece,[123] where it degenerated, as was also the case in Italy, and filled the streets of the towns and the lanes of the country with crowds of riotous men and lascivious women, so that these processions had eventually to be suppressed by legal measures and by main force.

Śiva is said to be more pleased by being worshipped in the form of the liṅga, than by any other adoration, as he declared to Aśvatthāman.[124] Tradition has it that Śiva assumed first the shape of the liṅga in the contest which took place between Brahman and Viṣṇu, and at the day of Śivarātri he appears in the form of the Mahāliṅga.

There exist on the earth seven various species of liṅgas, which are called after Brahman, the Gods, Ṛṣis, Siddhas, Rākṣasas, Men and Bāṇa.[125]

Different liṅgas should be worshipped inside and outside the houses. Those used inside by householders should be

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[123] See Herodotos, II. 49.

[124] See *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇasaṁvāda*, 18th chapter:
Liṅgapūjā Śivasyēṣṭā vigrahārādhanāt priyē
Aśvatthāmnē ca gaditam Śivavākyam tathaiva hi.

[125] *Ibidem*:
Svāyambhuvam daivam ārṣam saiddham rākṣasam ēva ca,
Mānuṣam Bāṇapūjyam ca sapta liṅgāni bhūtalē.

made of gold, or precious stones, or quicksilver, or similar material. There exists twenty-two various of such liṅgas. Brāhman householders should use made of rock crystal, Kṣatriyas of silver, Vaiśyas of metal, Śūdras of earth and Rākṣasas of gold.[126]

In the ritual of the Pañcāyatana are mentioned various kinds of liṅgas which can be worshipped, as the Narmadā or Bāṇaliṅga, an artificial liṅga, a Pāṇipīṭha liṅga, an earthen liṅga, one consisting of a jewel, or one made of butter, or one of gold, silver or copper, or one which representing life, is drawn as it were from the heart.[127]

The natural stone liṅgas are found in various rivers, but those of the Narmadā and Gaṇḍakī excel all others in value and efficiency, and of the stones of these two streams those of the Narmadā are in their turn preferred.[128] It is a peculiar coincidence that the Gaṇḍakī which harbours in its bed the Sālagrāma-stones should be also renowned for its stone liṅgas.

The origin of the liṅgas in the Narmadā is ascribed to the asura *Bāṇa* who worshipped in olden times in its neighbourhood and placed the Liṅgas in the Narmadā. Of the three species which are found in the river the bubble-shaped are

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[126] *Ibidem* :

Gṛhastham gēhapūjāyām ratnaśvarṇarasādibhiḥ,
dvāviṁśatividhāni syur liṅgānyētāni tatra ca.
Sphāṭikam brāhmaṇānām tu rājatam bāhujanmanām,
vaiśyānām kāṁsyaracitam mṛṇmayam pādajanmanām,
Svarṇaliṅgam rākṣasānām praśastam gṛhapūjanē.

[127] Nārmadē vā kriyāliṅgē pāṇipīṭhayutē' pi vā
pārthivē maṇiliṅgē vā navanītamayē' pi vā,
Sauvarṇē rājatē tāmrē prāṇaliṅgē yajēt Śivam,
aṣṭamūrtiṣu vā Śambhum nityam ārādhayēt dvijaḥ.

Under Pāṇipīṭha liṅga is also occasionally understood a liṅga made of earth and placed for worship in the left hand.

[128] See *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇasaṁvāda* loco citato :

Bhaumam bhōgapradam tatra dvē liṅgē sarvakāmadē
Narmadā-Gaṇḍakī-liṅgē tatrāpyuttamam īritam
Sarvadā liṅgam abjākṣi Narmadāliṅgam arcayēt.

d as the best, next come the egg-shaped, and the e bull-hump-shaped should not be worshipped at all en. Wise persons should further worship those liṅgas ch have a reddish colour like a ripe roseapple, or are rk blue like the muzzle of a female buffalo, or brown ke the eyes of the wonderful cow Kapila.[129]

he Bāṇaliṅga which stands always near Śiva should be as long as the distance from the Māṣaline to the end of the hand, like a ripe roseapple, like honey, like a bee, a crystal, if blue, smooth like a mirrored image and with a basis of the same colour, like a bullhump, the nipple of a cow's udder, of fowl's egg and smooth.[130]

Avoided should be those liṅgas, which are rough, uneven, short, high, thick, sharp-pointed, thin, triangular, long, without marks, with a hole, blue-coloured, low, cut, which have lines, spots or stains, are like a śūla, are flat, tawny, glittering like a diamond, have a cracked basis, or a periarp of a lotus. Persons who desire final emancipation should avoid these liṅgas.[131]

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[129] See *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇasaṁvāda* loco citato:
Arcayitvā Narmadāyām Bāṇena nihitam purā,
Śivaliṅgam śilārūpam tatrābhīṣṭaphalapradam,
Uttamam budbudākāram madhyamam tvaṇḍasannibham
Pūjanīyam dvayam liṅgam gṛhasthair liṅgamandirē.
Vṛṣabhaskandhasadṛśam adhamam santyajēt naraḥ.
Jambūpakvaphalaprakhyam mahiṣīnāsikāprabham
Kapilākṣisamam kāntyā pūjanīyam trayam budhaiḥ.

[130] Bāṇam liṅgam adhiṣṭhitēśam aniśam māṣādihastāntakam,
Jambūpakvaphalōpamam madhunibham bhṛṅgaprabham kācabham,
Nīlam vā pratibimbabandhabharitam tadvarṇapīṭham kakut—
Tulyam gōstanakukkuṭāṇḍasadṛśam snigdham sadārcyam śriyai.

Worth quoting is this stanza taken from the *Śivadharmōttara*:
Pūjanīyas sadā Sambhuḥ svayamvyaktaḥ phalādiṣu.
A natural liṅga is often found within certain fruits and flowers.
Māṣa is the upper line which crosses the palm of the hand.

[131] Varjyam karkaśarūkṣakubjam aguru sthūlam śitāgram kṛśam
Tryaśram dīrgham alakṣaṇam sasuṣiram nīlābhanīcakṣatam
Rēkhābindukalaṅkaśūlacipiṭam piṅgam sphuraddhīrakam
Pīṭham vā sphuṭitam sakarṇikam idam sarvam mumukṣus tyajēt.

Fourteen krores of Bāṇaliṅgas are found in eight[illegible]ent places of the world, one krore each in the Am[illegible] (kṣētra?), Mahēndra mountain, in Nepal (Gaṇḍakī), K[illegible] (kubja) and Tīrthāraṇya, 3 krores each in Śrīgiri (Śrīśa[illegible] Liṅgaśaila and Kālīgarta. Besides these liṅgas there ex[illegible] many liṅgas with or without *pīṭhas* worshipped in maṇṭapa[illegible] by the eight Dikpālas.[132]

The Gaṇḍakī supplies six varieties of liṅgastones which are called respectively: *Śivanābha, Aghōra, Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna*, of these six the *Aghōra* alone is unfit for worship, as it possesses an indistinct appearance, and has on its top a red braid of hair and the crescent of the moon. Śiva is occasionally worshipped in the form of a cross-shaped liṅga. Four of these liṅgas face the four cardinal points and the fifth looks upwards, standing in the middle or the top of them. These five liṅgas are called Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva, Aghōra, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna. The first faces the west, the second the north, the third the south, the fourth the east, and the fifth the sky. At the erection of a liṅga the five mantras of which the first begins with *sadyōjātam* should be repeated.[133]

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[132] Asmillōkē caturdaśakōṭibāṇaliṅgāvasthānasthalaviśēṣā ucyantē.
Pratyēkam kōṭir ēkā hy Amarapati-Mahēndrādri-Nēpāla-Kanyā-
Tīrthāraṇyēṣu, kōṭitritayam atha pṛthak Śrīgirau Liṅgaśailē
Kāligartō ca pīṭhair virahitasahitānyēva liṅgāni sarva—
Prāsādōpētapīṭhānyatha haridadhipārcyāni kāmyāni ca syuḥ.

This latter information about the Bāṇaliṅga was supplied to me by M.R.Ry. A. Krishnasvami Iyer, B.A.

[133] *Ibidem.*
Gaṇḍakījātam abjākṣi Śivanābham iti smṛtam,
Śivanābhir Aghōraśca Sadyōjātas tathaiva ca.
Vāmadēvas Tatpuruṣa Īśānaḥ ṣaḍvidhāḥ smṛtāḥ,
Aghōram tu parityajya pūjyāḥ pañcavidhāḥ smṛtāḥ.
Sarvatra saṁhitākārā mūrdhni raktajaṭēndudhṛk
Aghōramūrtiḥ sā tyājyā gṛhasthaiḥ śubhakāṅkṣibhiḥ.

With respect to these five liṅgas it may be added that the Sadyōjāta-liṅga is in Kāñcī, the Tatpuruṣa in Kālahasti, the Aghōra and Īśāna in Cidambaram and the Vāmadēva-liṅga in Jambukēśvara. These mantras

two streams Gaṇḍakī and Narmadā provide thus ...er seven auspicious kinds of the liṅga, five come from ...ormer, two from the latter.[134]

...en general distinctive marks (lakṣaṇa) are ascribed to ...e stone-liṅgas, the *āḍhya* is like a half-moon, the *anāḍhya* ...ike a triangle, the *surēḍya* like a fowl's egg, the *sarvasa* like an umbrella, the other six are the *nāgara, drāviḍa, vēsara, sarvadēśika, kaliṅga* and *varāṭa.*

In the preceding three chapters I have dealt with the three gods which constitute the Trimūrti, and, by inquiring into the origin and nature of some of their characteristic emblems, I have been able to point out and to explain the changes in the position and worship of these gods, which occurred in course of time. From the consideration of the Trimūrti I now turn to the gradually developed conception of a Supreme Spirit (Parātman, Paramātman, Brahman or Parabrahman) and thence to the worship of the Energy or Śakti.

CHAPTER XVII.

On Paramātman, the Supreme Spirit.

Though Viṣṇu and Siva still claim the chief adoration of the masses and are devoutly worshipped by their adherents, the great Indian thinkers have long ago discarded popular superstitions and arrived at a higher and purer

begin respectively with Sadyōjātam, Vāmadēvāya, Aghōrēbhyaḥ, Tatpuruṣāya and Īśānaḥ, and occur in the Nārāyaṇīyājñikī Upaniṣad, 17—21. In the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, on pp. 96 and 97 in Tārānāthatarkavācaspati's edition (Śaka 1793, A.D. 1871) it is said that the Supreme lord has the *Īśāna* as his head, the *Tatpuruṣa* as his mouth, the *Aghōra* as his heart, the *Vāmadēva* as his secret parts, and the *Sadyōjāta* as his feet: "Īśānamastakastatpuruṣavaktrō ghōrahṛdayō vāmadēvaguhyaḥ sadyōjātapāda īśvara iti." The same is expressed in the ślōka:

Tadvapuḥ pañcabhir mantraiḥ pañcakṛtyōpayōgibhiḥ
Īśatatpuruṣāghōravāmādyair mastakād idam. See p. 366.

[134] *Ibidem*:
Gaṇḍakīsambhavē pañca Narmadāsambhavē dvayam,
Pūjanīyāni liṅgāni naraiḥ saptavidhānyapi.

conception of the Godhead. However, their teaching has neither reached nor penetrated the mind of the masses to whom the worship of an abstract incorporeal and invisible divinity could only appear meaningless, and in whom it could not excite any fervour.

A great religious reform in Brahmanism was, as is well known, effected by the famous Śaṅkarācārya who was a native of Southern India, like the great teachers Bhagavad Rāmānujācārya and Madhvācārya who appeared after him.

It is not my intention here to discuss the development or pursue the history of Modern Brahmanism, I only wish to sketch in a few lines some of the striking points of the worship of the Godhead and to proceed then to the description of the adoration of Śakti or female energy, a subject which leads us back to the national religion of the Non-Aryan population of India.

Śaṅkarācārya, the founder of the Advaita belief, declared that the Supreme Spirit alone is real, is pure intelligence, free from all distinctions, eternal, stainless, knowing and free, and that matter (*jagat* or *māyā*) is unreal; or that the former does not possess any qualities while the latter does; or that the former represents knowledge and the latter ignorance. In consequence the Supreme Spirit is invisible yet all-seeing, omniscient, the cause, the maker and the giver of all. He cannot be comprehended by mind or speech and is impervious to the distinctions of place, time or matter, he is the lord and protector of all and shines through his own essence.[135]

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[135] Compare *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 55: "Aśēṣapratyanīkam cinmātram brahmaiva paramārthaḥ tacca nityaśuddhabuddhamuktasvabhāvamapi," and *Ibidem*, p. 96:

Sa jñaḥ sarvasya kartṛtvāt sādhanāṅgaphalaiḥ saha.
yō yajjānāti kurutē sa tadēvēti susthitam.

See also *Dēvībhāgavata* III, 6, 70, and IX, 2, 13, 14, 70.

70. Dṛśyañca nirguṇam lōkē na bhūtam nō bhaviṣyati.
nirguṇaḥ paramātmāsau na tu dṛśyaḥ kadācana.

The Advaita philosophy admits six essential elements, five of which disappear, while one remains imperishable; these six are the life, the lord, the pure intellect, the difference between the latter and the previous two, ignorance, and the difference between it and the pure intellect. This pure intellect does not perish.[136]

The natures of the Supreme Spirit and of Energy (Māyā, Prakṛti, or Śakti) are originally identical, and no difference exists between them. What he is is she, and what she is is he, confusion of mind only creates a difference, though a subtle distinction does in reality exist. Though eternal and without a second, Brahman arrives at the time of creation at a dual state, and though originally without any attributes, he unites himself for the purpose of creation with matter (Māyā) and becomes thus *Saguṇabrahman*, Brahman with attributes. As the light through some cause becomes double, either through reflection or by means of a mirror, so also is the one (Paramātman) the reflection of the other (Prakṛti).[137]

13. Tējōrūpam nirākāram dhyāyantē yōginaḥ tadā
vadanti ca param Brahma Paramātmānam Īśvaram,

14. Adṛśyam sarvadraṣṭāram sarvajñam sarvakāraṇam
sarūpam tamarūpam ca tam Vaiṣṇavāḥ tanna manvatē.

The idea concerning the position of Brahman to matter is expressed in such axioms as: Brahma satyam jagannmithyā; Brahma nirguṇam Brahma saguṇam; Brahma jñānarūpam Māyā ajñānarūpiṇī. Otherwise the Supreme Spirit is described as *vāṅmanasōgōcaram*, *dēśakālavastuparicchēdaśūnyam* and *svayamprakāśavastu*.

[136] Jīva īśō viśuddhā cit bhēdastasyāḥ tayōr dvayōḥ
avidyā taccitor bhēdaḥ ṣaṭ asmākam anādayaḥ.

Ṣaḍanādayaḥ tēṣu pañca naśyanti, ēkō viśuddhā cit na naśyati, ētat ēva Brahman.

Compare with this *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 103:

Patividyē tathāvidyā paśuḥ pāśaśca kāraṇam
tanniv[illegible]ttāviti prōktāḥ padārthāḥ ṣaṭ samāsataḥ.

[137] See *Dēvībhāgavata* III, 6, 1—6, and IX, 2, 5—7.

1. Iti pṛṣṭā mayā dēvī vinayāvanatēna ca
uvāca vacanam ślakṣṇam ādyā bhagavatī hi sā.

The Supreme Spirit is manifested in five different aspects, one of which the individual believer regards as the principal form, the *iṣṭadēvatā*, and round this he arranges the other four. These five varieties form united the one Godhead.[138]

They are known as the *Pañca Āyatanāni*, called Āditya, Ambikā, Viṣṇu, Gaṇanātha and Mahēśvara, and are respectively represented by a crystal, metal ore, Sālagrāma-stone, redstone and a bāṇaliṅga. Whichever of these five is chosen by the worshipper, is placed in the middle, and the other four occupy a fixed position in the North-East, South-East, South-West and North-West. If Śiva is the middle then Viṣṇu, Āditya, Gaṇēśa and Ambikā are respectively in the N. E., S. E., S. W.; and N. W., if Viṣṇu occupies the centre then Śiva, Gaṇēśa, Āditya and Ambikā are in the corresponding positions; if Āditya is chosen the order is

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2. Sadaikatvam na bhēdō'sti sarvadaiva mamāsya ca
yōsau sāham aham yōsau bhēdō'sti mativibhramāt.
3. Āvayōr antaram sūkṣmam yō vēda matimān hi saḥ
vimuktaḥ sa tu saṁsārāt ucyatē nātra saṁśayaḥ.
4. Ēkam ēvādvitīyam vai brahma nityam sanātanam
dvaitabhāvam punar yāti kāla utpitsusañjñakē.
5. Yathā dīpaḥ tathōpādhēr yōgāt sañjāyatē dvidhā
chāyēvādarśamadhyē vā pratibimbam tathāvayōḥ.
6. Bhēda utpitsukālē vai sargārtham prabhavatyaja
dṛśyādṛśyavibhēdō' yam dvaividhyē sati sarvathā;

and IX, 2, 5—7:

5. Nitya ātmā nabhō nityam kālo nityō diśō yathā
iśvānām gōlakam nityam nityō gōlōka ēva ca.
6. Tadēkadēśē vaikuṇṭhō hyabhramārgānusārakaḥ
tathaiva prakṛtir nityā Brahmalīlā sanātanī.
7. Yathāgnau dāhikā candrē prahlādō bhā ravau yathā
śaśvad yuktā na bhinnā sā tathā prakṛtir ātmani.

[138] Vastutō nirguṇam Brahma śuddhādvaitam prācakṣatē.
Māyayā saguṇam tasya pūjyatā pūjakaiḥ kṛtā.
Upāsakānām kāryārtham brahmaṇō guṇakalpanam
yādṛśī bhāvanā yasya siddhir bhavati tādṛśī.
Svasvapriyatamam dēvam madhyē sthāpya śucivrataḥ
caturdikṣu caturmūrtīḥ pañcāyatanam arcayēt. (Nirṇayasindhu.)

Śiva, Gaṇēśa, Viṣṇu and Ambikā; if Ambikā then Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇēśa and Āditya; and if Gaṇēśa or Gaṇanātha is in the middle Viṣṇu, Śiva, Āditya and Ambikā are respectively stationed in the N. E., S. E., S. W., and N. W.[139]

In the Vaiṣṇava belief, or Visiṣṭādvaita Vēdānta, the desire of Viṣṇu is the Māyā, which is subject to Viṣṇu and through which he destroys the world after having created and protected it.[140]

The Supreme Spirit is according to the belief of the Vaiṣṇavas always endowed with attributes, and is therefore always *saguṇa*. Bhagavad Rāmānujācārya, the great Vaiṣṇava reformer, teaches a triad of principles, the Supreme Spirit represented by Hari, the individual spirit by the soul, and the visible world by the non-soul. The individual spirits, or souls, are eternal. The Supreme Spirit of the Vaiṣṇavas, Vāsudēva, is also viewed under five different forms (mūrti), as *arcā*, adoration, in images; *vibhava*, mani-

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[139] Saṃbhau madhyagatē harīnaharabhūdēvyō, Harau śaṅkarē-
bhāsyēnāgasutā Ravau Haragaṇēśājāmbikās sthāpitāḥ,
Dēvyām Viṣṇuharaikadantaravayō, Lambōdarē'jēśvarē-
nāryāḥ, Śaṅkarabhāgatōtisukhadā vyastāstu tē hānidāḥ.

According to the various deities worshipped, there are six principal religious sects in India, their respective deity being Śiva, Viṣṇu, Śakti, Sūrya, Gaṇapati, or Kapālin. The special characteristics of each are contained in the following lines:

Śaivē liṅgadhṛtir hi Śāktikamatē hālāhṛtir Vaiṣṇavē
Mudrātāpavidhir Gaṇādhipamatē tūcchiṣṭavastugrahaḥ,
Saurē lōhitacandanārcanavidhiḥ Kāpālikē mānuṣa
dhvastiḥ, yēna kalau nirākṛtam abhūt, sōmō guruḥ Śaṅkaraḥ.

In *Śṛṅgēri* the principal seat of Śaṅkarācārya the Pañcāyatanam is revered as follows:

Śrīcandramauliśvaraśāradāmbā Śrīratnagarbhārkanṛsiṁharūpam,
ārādhanīyam satatam manuṣyair Brahmaiva pañcāyatanam prapadyē.

Candramauliśvara represents the principal forms of the liṅga, *Śāradāmbā* the principal form of Dēvī or Ambikā, *Ratnagarbha* the principal of the 21 Gaṇēśamūrtis, *Arka* the principal of the twelve Ādityamūrtis and *Nṛsiṁha* the principal of the Viṣṇumūrtis.

[140] Viṣṇōr icchaiva Māyā, sā Viṣṇōr adhīnā, tayaiva Viṣṇur jagat sṛṣṭvā pālayitvā saṁharati.

festation, in the incarnations; *vyūha*, formation, in the fourfold appearance as Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudēva, Pradyumna and Aniruddha; *sūkṣma*, subtile, in the Supreme Spirit Vāsudēva with his six attributes, the first of which is exemption from sin; and *antaryāmi*, interior spirit, controlling the individual soul.[141]

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[141] Compare *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 55:

Īśvaraścidacicceti padārthatritayam hariḥ
īśvaraścita ityuktā jīvādṛśyam acit punar,

Ibidem 64:

tatra cicchabdavācyajīvātmānaḥ paramātmanaḥ sakāśād bhinnā nityāśca

Also 65: Vāsudēvaḥ param brahma kalyāṇaguṇasaṁyutaḥ
bhuvanānām upādānam kartā jīvaniyāmakaḥ.

Sa ēva Vāsudēvaḥ paramakāruṇikō bhaktavatsalaḥ paramapuruṣaḥ tadupāsakānuguṇatattatphalapradānāya svalīlāvaśād arcāvibhavavyūhasūkṣmāntaryāmibhēdēna pañcadhāvatiṣṭhatē. Tatrārcā nāma pratimādayaḥ, rāmādyavatārō vibhavaḥ vyūhaścaturvidhaḥ Vāsudēva-Saṅkarṣaṇa-Pradyumnāniruddhasaṁjñakaḥ, sūkṣmam sampūrṇam ṣāḍguṇyam vāsudēvākhyam param brahma guṇā apahatapāpmatvādayaḥ sō'pahatapāpmā vijarō vimṛtyuraviśōkō vijighatsaḥ apipāsaḥ satyakāmaḥ satyasaṅkalpa iti śrutēḥ, antaryāmī sakalajīvaniyāmakaḥ ya ātmani tiṣṭhannātmānam antarōyamayatīti śrutēḥ. "I have corrected a few mistakes occurring in the print. In the *Yatīndramatadīpikā* the five mūrtis of Parabrahman are given in the opposite order: paravyūhavibhavāntaryāmyarcāvatārarūpēṇa pañcaprakāraḥ."

Compare also the description of the Supreme Śrīkṛṣṇa as found in the *Dēvībhāgavata*, IX, II, 15—25:

15. Vadanti caiva tē kasya tējas tējasvinā vinā
tējōmaṇḍalamadhyastham Brahma tējasvinam param.
16. Svēcchāmayam sarvarūpam sarvakāraṇakāraṇam
atīva sundaram rūpam bibhratam sumanōharam.
17. Kiśōravayasam śāntam sarvakāntam parātparam
navīnanīradābhāsam dhāmaikam śyāmavigraham.
18. Śaranmadhyāhnapadmaughaśōbhāmōcanalōcanam
muktācchaviviniṁdyaikadantapaṅktimanōharam,
19. Mayūrapiñchacūḍam ca mālatīmālyamaṇḍitam
sunasam susmitam kāntam bhaktānugrahakāraṇam.
20. Jvaladagniviśuddhaikapītāṁśukasuśōbhitam
dvibhujam muralīhastam ratnabhūṣaṇabhūṣitam.
21. Sarvādhāram ca sarvēśam sarvaśaktiyutam vibhum
sarvaiśvaryapradam sarvaśvatantram sarvamaṅgalam.
22. Paripūrṇatamam siddham siddhēśam siddhikāraṇam
dhyāyantē vaiṣṇavāś śaśvad dēvadēvam sanātanam.

According to the Śaiva religion Māyā constitutes half the body of Śiva on his left side, she is in reality Śakti as Pārvatī, or Viṣṇu in the form of Māyā.[142]

Religious fervour pervades the mind of the Indian population, and the various philosophical and scientific systems are anxious to define the nature of the Supreme Spirit. We need not therefore be surprised that attempts have been made to connect Brahman with sound and to identify him with the word *sphōṭa*, as Bhartṛhari (Hari) does in his verse, stating that it is: "Brahman, without beginning and end, the imperishable essence of speech, which revolves by the state of things, and whence arises the formation of the world."[143]

In order to give an idea of how the majority of intelligent Hindus comprehend the nature of the Supreme Spirit, I extract from the Bhagavadgītā, the sacred portion of the Bhīṣmaparvan of the Mahābhārata, a few lines concerning Him. In the discourse of the divine *Kṛṣṇa* with the Pāṇḍava hero, *Arjuna*, the former says:

"Earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, intellect and self-consciousness constitute my eightfold divided nature; however, know that, besides this, I possess a superior, an animate, nature, by which, O long-armed, the world is

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23. Janmamṛtyujarāvyādhiśōkabhītiharam param
Brahmaṇō vayasā yasya nimēṣa upacaryatē.
24. Sacātmā sa param brahma Kṛṣṇa ityabhidhīyatē
kṛṣistadbhaktivacanō naśca taddāsyavācakaḥ.
25. Bhaktidāsyapradātā yas sa ca kṛṣṇaḥ prakīrtitaḥ
ityāhur vaiṣṇavās tatra siddhāntaḥ prōcyatē mayā.

[142] Śaivamatē Māyā Śivasya ardharūpam vāmāṅgam saiva Śaktiḥ; which idea is also thus expressed: Saivamatē Viṣṇur Māyārūpaḥ, Śivasya vāmāṅgē Pārvatirūpēṇa vartatē.

[143] See *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 158: "Sphōṭākhyō niravayavō nityaḥ śabdō brahmaivēti. Hariṇābhāṇi:

Anādinidhanam brahma śabdatattvam yadakṣaram
vivartatē'rthabhāvēna prakriyā jagatō yataḥ.

This theory about the eternity of the sound *sphōṭa* is contradicted in Kapila's Sāṅkhyasūtras V, 57 and 58.

supported. Understand that this is the source of all creation. I am the cause and likewise the dissolution of the whole universe. Nothing higher, O Dhanañjaya, exists than me; all this is strung on me like a multitude of pearls on a string. I am the moisture in the water, O son of Kuntī, I am the splendour of the sun and the moon, I am the mystical syllable (*ōm*) of all the Vēdas, the sound in the ether, manliness in men. I am the pure flavour of the earth, and the light in the fire, the life in all beings, and the penance of ascetics. Know me, O son of Pṛthā, to be the eternal seed of all beings, the intellect of all intelligent creatures, the brilliance of all brilliants. I am the strength of the strong, free from desire and passion, O bull of the Bharatas, I am in animate beings the desire consistent with righteousness. Know that all the existences that partake of the qualities of Sattva (goodness), Rajas (passion), and Tamas (darkness) are from me, but not in me. The whole world, beguiled by the existences influenced by these three qualities, does not know me, who am distinct from them, and immutable. My divine illusion, depending on the three qualities, is hard to overcome; those, however, who have recourse to me, cross this illusion."[144]

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[144] See *Mahābhārata, Bhīṣmaparvan*, XXXI, 4—14:

4. Bhūmir āpō'nalō vāyuḥ kham manō buddhir ēva ca
ahaṅkāra itīyam mē-bhinnā prakṛtir aṣṭadhā.
5. Aparēyam itas tvanyām prakṛtim viddhi mē paṛām
jīvabhūtām mahābāhō yayēdam dhāryatē jagat.
6. Ētadyōnīni bhūtāni sarvāṇītyupadhāraya
aham kṛtsnasya jagataḥ prabhavaḥ pralayas tathā.
7. Mattaḥ parataram nānyat kiñcidasti, Dhanañjaya,
mayi sarvam idam prōtam sūtrē maṇigaṇā iva.
8. Rasō'ham apsu, Kauntēya, prabhāsmi śaśisūryayōḥ
praṇavaḥ sarvavēdēṣu śabdaḥ khē pauruṣam nṛṣu.
9. Puṇyō gandhaḥ pṛthivyām ca tējascāsmi vibhāvasau
jīvanam sarvabhūtēṣu tapaścāsmi tapasviṣu.
10. Bījam mām sarvabhūtānām viddhi Pārtha sanātanam
buddhir buddhimatām asmi tējas tējasvinām aham.

"*Brahman* is supreme and imperishable, *Adhyātman* is individual constitution, the quality which makes the production of things is called action, *Adhibhūta* represents the perishable, the *Adhidaivata* is Puruṣa. I am here in this body Adhiyajña, O best of corporeal beings. He who, at the end of time, when leaving his body, remembers me, goes to my state; there is no doubt about it. Moreover, O son of Kuntī, he goes to that exact state which he remembers when leaving his body. Therefore remember me at all times and fight, fixing the intelligence of your mind on me. He who with a mind endowed with the practice of meditation does not stray elsewhere, goes, O son of Pṛthā, to the Divine Soul (Puruṣa). He who at the time of his departure thinks of the ancient prophet, of the ruler, of him who is more minute than an atom, who preserves all, whose form is inconceivable, who has the colour of the sun, and who is beyond darkness, with a steady mind, with faith and power of abstraction, fixing his breath in the middle of his brows, goes to that supreme Divine Soul. I shall now briefly tell you about that place, which the Vedic scholars call imperishable, which the ascetics whose passions have gone enter, and longing for which they live a celibate life. He who, on leaving his body, departs, having closed up all the doors (senses), having confined his mind within his heart, placing his breath within his head, intent on persevering devotion, uttering the mantra consisting of the one syllable *Ōm*, while remembering me, goes to the highest happiness. To him, O son of Pṛthā, who always remembers me with a mind undiverted to other

11. Balam balavatāṁ'scāham kāmarāgavivarjitam
dharmāviruddhō bhūtēṣu kāmō'smi Bharatarṣabha.
12. Yē caiva sāttvikā bhāvā rājasāstāmasāśca yē
matta ēvēti tān viddhi na tvaham tēṣu tē mayi.
13. Tribhir guṇamayair bhāvair ēbhis sarvam idam jagat
mōhitam nābhijānāti mām ēbhyaḥ paramavyayam.
14. Daivī hyēṣā guṇamayī mama māyā duratyayā
mām ēva yē prapadyantē māyām ētām taranti tē.

objects, to such a devout devotee I am easily accessible. Those high-minded persons who have attained the highest perfection and have reached me, do not incur rebirth, the transient dwelling of pain. The worlds downwards from the abode of Brahman, O son of Kuntī, revolve again, but when I am reached there is no more rebirth."[145] "I am the Spirit, O curly-haired, which resides in all beings. I am the beginning, the middle, and the end of things. Among the Ādityas I am Viṣṇu, among the luminaries I am the radiant sun, among the Maruts I

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[145] See *Bhīṣmaparvan*, XXXII, 3—15:

3. Akṣaram paramam Brahma svabhāvō'dhyātma ucyatē
bhūtabhāvōdbhavakarō nisargaḥ karmasañjñitaḥ.
4. Adhibhūtam kṣarō bhāvaḥ puruṣaścādhidaivatam
adhiyajñō'ham ēvātra dēhē dēhabhṛtām vara.
5. Antakālē ca mām ēva smaran muktvā kalēvaram
yaḥ prayāti sa madbhāvam yāti nāstyatra saṁśayaḥ.
6. Yam yam vāpi smaran bhāvam tyajatyantē kalēvaram
tam tam ēvaiti Kauntēya sadā tadbhāvabhāvitaḥ.

10. Prayāṇ... Tasmāt sarvēṣu kālēṣu mām anusmara yudhya ca
bhruvōr m... vyarpitamanōbuddhir mām ēvaiṣyasyasaṁśayaḥ
upaiti d... yāsayōgayuktēna cētasā nānyagāminā
11. Yadakṣa... ramam puruṣam divyam yāti Pārthānucintayan.
yad iccha... vim purāṇam anuśāsitāram aṇōr aṇīyāṁsam anusmarēd yaḥ
prava... rvasya dhātāram acintyarūpam ādityavarṇam tamasaḥ para-
... tāt.
12. Sarvad... kāle mana... calēna bhaktyā yuktō yōgabalēna caiva
mūrdh... ...vē prāṇa... āvēśya samyak sa tam param puruṣam
13. Ōm ity... ...dvyam.
yaḥ pr... ...am vēdavidō vadanti viśanti yad yatayō vītarāgāḥ
14. Anany... ...ntō brahmacaryam caranti tat... padam saṅgrahēṇa
tasyāhan... ...kṣyē.
15. Mām upēt... ...rāṇi saṁyamya manō hṛdi nirudhya ca
nāpnuvanti ... ...nyādhāyātmanaḥ prāṇam āsthitō yōgadhāraṇām.
16. Ābrahmabhuv... ...ēkākṣaram brahma vyāharan mām anusmaran
mām upētya t... ...yāti tyajan dēham sa yāti paramām gatim.
... acētāḥ satatam yō mām smarati nityaśaḥ
... sulabhaḥ Pārtha nityayuktasya yōginaḥ.
... ya punar janma duḥkhālayam aśāśvatam
... mahātmānaḥ saṁsiddhim parā... gatāḥ.
... nāllōkāḥ punar āvartinō'rjuna
... Kauntēya punar janma... na vidyatē.

am Marīcī, among the stars I am the moon. Among the Vēdas I am the Sāmavēda, among the gods I am Vāsava, among the senses I am the mind, of living beings I am the life. Among the Rudras I am Śaṅkara, among the Yakṣas and Rakṣas I am the lord of wealth, among the Vasus I am Pāvaka, among the high mountains I am Mēru. Know, O son of Pṛthā, that I am Bṛhaspati, the chief among the high priests. Among army leaders I am Skanda, among the sheets of water I am the Ocean, among the great sages I am Bhṛgu, among words I am the one syllable (*Ōm*), among sacrifices I am the Japa, among immovable things I am the Himālaya, among all trees I am the Aśvattha, among the divine sages I am Nārada. Among the Gandharvas I am Citraratha, among the Siddhas I am the sage Kapila. Among horses know me to be Uccaiśśravas which arose with the amṛta, among the grand elephants the Airāvata, and the king among men. Among weapons I am the thunderbolt, among cows I am the Kāmadhuk. I am the the progeny-producing Kandarpa, I am Vāsuk[illegible]rds. Among serpents. Among the Nāgas I am Ananta, I am [illegible]apon-bearers. among aquatic beings, I am Aryaman among the [illegible]aṅgā) among am Yama among those who restrain, I am Prahlāda and, and the the Daityas, the Time among those who count, I am the science Lion among beasts, and Vainatēya among [illegible] Of the letters purifiers I am the wind, Rām[illegible] among [illegible]rds I am the I am the Makara among [illegible]shes, the Jāhnavī [illegible] the preserver streams. I am, O Arjuna, the beginning, t[illegible]izing death and middle of all things; among the sciences I [illegible]inines I am fame, of the Supreme Spirit, the speech of speakers. [illegible] fortitude, patience; I am the letter *a*, and of the compound w[illegible] sāman, among metres Dvandva, I am also the undecaying time, I a[illegible] whose face is turned everywhere. I am all-s[illegible] the cause of all future things. Among fem[illegible] fortune, speech, memory, understanding, among the Sāma-hymns I am the Vṛhat[illegible]

I am the Gāyatrī, among the months I am the Mārgaśīrṣa, among seasons the season of flowers, I am the gambling of cheats, of splendid things I am the splendour. I am victory, industry and the goodness of all good. I am Vāsudēva among the Vṛṣṇis, Dhanañjaya among the Pāṇḍavas, I am also Vyāsa among the saints, the seer Uśanas among the seers, I am the rod of those who subdue, I am the Policy of those who desire victory. I am also silence among secrets, and the knowledge of the knowing. That which is, O Arjuna, the seed of all beings, that I am, there does not exist a movable or immovable thing that is without me. O subduer of foes, there is no end of my divine powers, and this detailed description of my power is only mentioned by me by way of example."[146]

With these few remarks on the Supreme Spirit or Paramātman, I pass over to consider the adoration of the Female Energy or Śakti, which arising from foreign sources was received in the Aryan theogony. Its influence gradually increased, until it obtained equality with the male principle, and at last developed into the well known and widely spread Śakti worship.

CHAPTER XVIII.

On Śakti.

Introductory Remarks.

The principal deities of the ancient Aryans were of the male sex, and their consorts, whatever influence they possessed otherwise, derived their power mainly from being the wives of the great gods. The Aryan Pantheon did not admit a goddess to supreme authority, nor did it allow to the wives of the gods an equal share in ruling. Pallas

[146] See, *Bhīsmaparvan*, XXXIV, 20—40. This passage is so well known that I need not give it in the original.

Athēnē (Minerva) the daughter, and Hērā (Juno) the wife of Zeus (Jupiter) were thus dependent on the will of the chief of the gods, and Indrāṇī, Agnāyī and Varuṇānī, the wives respectively of Indra, Agni and Varuṇa, occupied as such in the Vēda only a secondary position. But this principle of male exclusiveness did not prevail among the Turanian races, for Davkina, the lady of the earth, was revered in ancient Babylonia as respectfully as was Ea, the lord of the water, and she was also worshipped as the creator of the world. The same idea predominates among the Gauda-Dravidians of India, where from a far remote period the Mother Earth, the representative of the Female Energy, was worshipped as the principal deity, and where even at the present day its substitute the local Grāmadēvatā is revered as the founder or creator of each village or town, as had been the practice in ancient Babylonia.[147] This non-Aryan worship has to such an extent been accepted by the Aryan population of India, that almost all important sacred places, to which pilgrims resort from the Himālaya mountains in the North to Cape Comorin in the South are under the guardianship of the principle of female energy, *i.e.*, of Dēvī, Kālī, or Śakti, &c. The original Gauda-Dravidian Grāmadēvatā, which is now also revered by the Brāhmans, is in most of these places represented by or transformed into an aryanised Kṣētradēvatā. This Kṣētradēvatā or titular deity of a town, district or country is acknowledged as a manifestation of Śakti, and the worship of these Śaktis is specially performed on the eighth day (*aṣṭamī*) of the Durgāpujā.[148]

[147] See page 327.

[148] In the Purāṇas are given the names of many of such Kṣētradēvatās and below I quote the following which are mentioned in the Śrīdēvibhāgavata and the Matsyapurāṇa: Abhayā, Amōghākṣī, Amṛtā, Anaṅgā, Annapūrṇā, Ārōgyā, Bhadrā, Bhadrakarṇī, Bhadrakarṇikā, Bhadrasundarī, Bhairavī, Bhavānī, Bhīmā, Bhīmēśvarī, Bhṛti, Bhramarī, Bhūti, Bhuvanēśvarī, Bilvapatrikā, Caṇḍamuṇḍī, Caṇḍikā, Candralā, Daṇḍinī, Dēvakī, Dēvamātṛ,

Before the Aryan invaders became familiar with the religious tenets of their national foes, whose country they had conquered, and whom they had reduced to a state of

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Dēvī, Dhvani, Ēkavīrā, Gaurī, Gāyatrī, Gōmatī, Guhyakālī, Hiṅgulā, Hiraṇyākṣī, Jambūnadēśvarī, Jayā, Jayanti, Jvālāmukhī, Kalā, Kālī, Kalyāṇī, Kāmacāriṇī, Kāmākhyā, Kamalā, Kambalā, Kāmukā, Kapilā, Kauśikī Kōṭyakṣī, Kulēśvarī, Kumārī, Kuśōdakī, Lakṣmī, Lalitādēvī, Liṅgadhāriṇī, Lōlā, Mā, Mādhavī, Madōtkaṭā, Mahābhāgā, Mahādēvī, Mahālakṣmī, Mahālasā, Mahāmāyā, Mahānandā, Mahāntakā, Mahēśvarī, Makuṭēśvarī, Maṇḍaki, Maṇḍalēśā, Maṅgalā, Manmathā, Mārgadāyinī, Mātā, Mēdhā, Mīnākṣī, Mṛgāvatī, Mukuṭēśvarī, Nandā, Nandinī, Nārāyaṇī, Nīlāmbā, Nīlasarasvatī, Ōṣadhī, Paramēśvarī, Parāśakti, Pāṭalā, Piṅgalāvatī, Pracaṇḍā, Puruhūtā, Puṣkarāvatī, Puṣkarēkṣaṇā, Puṣṭi, Rādhā, Ramaṇā, Rambhā, Rati, Ratipriyā, Rōṇukā, Rudrāṇī, Rukminī, Sahaśrākṣī, Śākambarī, Śaṇḍaki, Śaṅkarī, Sarvāṇī, Satyavādinī, Siṁhikā, Sītā, Śivapriyā, Smṛti, Sthānī, Sthānupriyā, Sthāṇvīśā, Sthūlāsyā, Subhadrā, Śuddhi, Sugandhā, Sūkṣmā, Śūladhāriṇī, Sunandā, Sundarī, Svayambhuvī, Svāhā, Tārā, Tripurabhairavi, Trisandhyā, Triśūlā, Ugrā, Umādēvī, Urvaśī Utpalākṣī, Vagalā, Vandaniyā, Varārōhā, Vastrēśvarī, Vimalā, Vidhi, Vindhyanivāsinī, Vipulā, Viśālākṣī, Viśvā, Viśvamukhī, Viśvēśā, Yaśaskarī, Yōgēśvarī, etc.

See *Śrīdēvībhāgavata*, VII, 38, 3—31:

3 Sarvam dṛśyam mama sthānam sarvē kālā vratātmakāḥ
utsavās sarvakālēṣu yatō'ham sarvarūpiṇī.
4 Tathāpi bhaktavātsalyāt kiñcit kiñcid athōcyatē
śṛṇuṣvāvahitō bhūtvā nagarāja vacō mama.
5 Kōlapuram mahāsthānam yatra lakṣmīs sadā sthitā
Mātuḥpuram dvitīyam ca Rēṇukādhiṣṭhitam param.
6 Tulajāpuram tṛtīyam syāt Saptaśṛṅgam tathaiva ca
Hiṅgūlāyā mahāsthānam Jvālāmukhyās tathaiva ca.
7 Śākambharyāḥ param sthānam Bhramaryās sthānam uttamam
Śrīraktadantikāsthānam Durgāsthānam tathaiva ca.
8 Vindhyācalanivāsinyās sthānam sarvōttamōttamam
Annapūrṇāmahāsthānam Kāñcīpuram anuttamam.
9 Bhīmādēvyāḥ param sthānam Vimalāsthānam ēva ca
Śrīcandralāmahāsthānam Kauśikīsthānam ēva ca.
10 Nīlāmbāyāḥ param sthānam Nīlaparvatamastakē
Jambūnadēśvarīsthānam tathā Śrīnagaram śubham.
11 Guhyakālyā mahāsthānam Nēpalē yat pratiṣṭhitam
Mīnākṣyāḥ paramam sthānam yacca prōktam Cidambarē.
12 Vēdāraṇyam mahāsthānam Sundaryā samadhiṣṭhitam
Ēkāmbaram mahāsthānam Parāśaktyā pratiṣṭhitam,
13 Mahālasā param sthānam Yōgēśvaryās tathaiva ca
tathā Nīlasarasvatyās sthānam Cinēṣu viśrutam.

serfdom, a considerable period of time must have elapsed. It is, however, probable that the more enlightened and more peacefully inclined men of both races came gradually in

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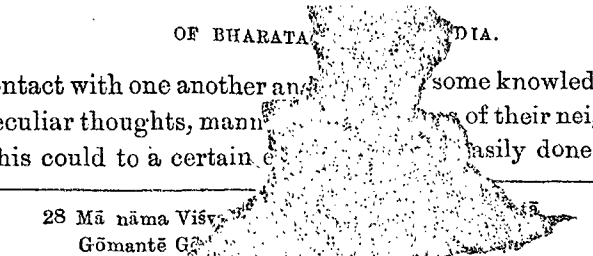
14 Vaidyanāthē tu Vagalāsthānam sarvōttamam matam
Śrīmacchrībhuvanēśvaryā maṇidvīpam mama smṛtam.
15 Śrīmattripurabhairavyāḥ Kāmākhyā Yōnimaṇḍalam
bhūmaṇḍalē kṣētraratnam mahāmāyādhivāsitam.
16 Nātaḥ parataram sthānam kvacid asti dharātalē
pratimāsam bhavēt dēvī yatra sākṣād rajasvalā.
17 Tatratyā pṛthivī sarvā dēvīrūpā smṛtā budhaiḥ
nātaḥ parataram sthānam Kāmākhyā Yōnimaṇḍalam.
18 Tatratyā dēvatās sarvāḥ parvatātmakatām gatāḥ
parvatēṣu vasantyēva mahatyō dēvatā api.
19 Gāyatryāśca param sthānam śrīmatpuṣkaram īritam
Amarēśē Caṇḍikā syāt Prabhāsē Puṣkarēkṣaṇā.
20 Naimiṣē tu mahāsthānē dēvī sā liṅgadhāriṇī
Puruhūtā Puṣkarākhyē Aṣāḍau ca Ratis tathā.
21 Caṇḍamuṇḍī mahāsthānē Laṇḍinī Paramēśvarī
Bhārabhūtau bhavēd Bhūtir Nākulēna Kulēśvarī.
22 Candrikā tu Hariścandrē Śrīgiran Śaṅkarī smṛtā
Japyēśvarē Triśūlā syāt Sūkṣmā cāmrātakēśvarē.
23 Śaṅkarī tu Mahākālē Sarvāṇī Madhyamābhidē
Kēdārākhyē mahākṣētrē Dēvī sā Mārgadāyinī.
24 Bhairavākhyē Bhairavī sā Gayāyām Maṅgalā smṛtā
Sthāṇupriyā Kurukṣētrē Svayambhuvyapi Nākulē.
25 Kanakhalē bhavēd Ugrā Viśvēśā Vimalēśvarē
Aṭṭahāsē Mahānandā Mahēndrē tu Mahāntakā.
26 Bhīmē Bhīmēśvarī prōktā sthānē Vastrāpathē punaḥ
Bhavānī Śaṅkarī prōktā Rudrāṇī tvardhakōṭikē.
27 Avimuktē Viśālākṣī Mahābhāgā Mahālayē
Gōkarṇē Bhadrakarṇī syāt Bhadrā syāt Bhadrakarṇikē.
28 Utpalākṣī Suvarṇākṣē Sthāṇvīśā Sthāṇusaṅjñikē
Kamalālayē tu Kamalā Pracaṇḍā Chāgalāṇḍakē.
29 Kuraṇḍalē Trisandhyā syānnakōṭē Mukuṭēśvarī
Maṇḍalēśā Śaṇḍakī syāt Kālī Kālāñjarē punaḥ.
30 Śaṅkukarṇē Dhvaniḥ prōktā Sthūlāsyā Sthūlakēśvarē
jñāninām hṛdhyāmbhōjē Hṛllēkhā Paramēśvarī.
31 Prōktānīmāni sthānāni dēvyāḥ priyatamāni ca
tat tat kṣētrasya māhātmyam śrutvāpūrvam nagōttama.

Compare with it *Matsyapurāṇa*, XIII, 26—54:

26 Smartavyā bhūtikāmair vā tāni vakṣyāmi tattvataḥ,
Vārāṇasyām Viśālākṣī Naimiṣē Liṅgadhāriṇī.
27 Prayāgē Lalitā dēvī Kāmukā Gandhamādanē
Mānasē Kumudā nāma Viśvā Viśvēśvarē vidhuḥ

contact with one another an[illegible] some knowledge of the peculiar thoughts, mann[illegible] of their neighbours. This could to a certain e[illegible] asily done in those



28 Mā nāma Viśv[illegible]ā
Gōmantē Gā[illegible]
29 Madōtkaṭ[illegible]stināpurē
Kany[illegible]ambhā Malayaparvatē.
30 Nandā Hir[illegible] pṛṣṭhē Gōkarṇē Bhadrakarṇikā
Sthāṇēśvar[illegible]avānīti Bilvakē Bilvapatrikā
31 Śrīśailē Mādhavī nāma Bhadrā Bhadrēśvarē tathā
Jayā Varāhaśailē tu Kambalā Kamalālayē.
32 Puṣkarē Puruhūtēti Kēdārē Mārgadāyinī
Rudrakōṭyām[illegible] Rudrāṇī Kālī Kālāñjarē girau.
33 Mahāliṅgē Kapilā Makuṭē Makuṭēśvarī
Sālagrām[illegible]ahādēvī Śivaliṅgē Śivapriyā
34 Māyāpuryām Kumārī tu Santatā Lalitē tathā
Utpalākṣē Sahasrākṣī Hiraṇyākṣī Mahōtpale.
35 Gayāyām Maṅgalā nāma Vipulā Puruṣōttamē
Vipāśāyām Amōghākṣī Pāṭalā Puṇḍravardhanē.
36 Nārāyaṇī Supārśvē tu Trikūṭē Bhadrasundarī
Vipulē Vipulā nāma Kalyāṇī Malayācalē.
37 Kōṭyakṣī Kōṭitīrthē tu Sugandhā Māgadhē vanē
Kubjāmrakē Trisandhyā tu Gaṅgādvārē Ratipriyā
38 Śivakuṇḍē Sunandā ca Nandinī Dēvikātaṭē
Rukmiṇī Dvāravatyām tu Rādhā Bṛndāvanē vanē.
39 Dēvakī Mathurāyāṁ tu Pātālē Paramēśvarī
Citrakūṭe tathā Sītā Vindhyē Vindhyanivāsinī.
40 Sahyādrāvēkavīrā tu Hariścandrē tu Caṇḍikā
Ramaṇā Rāmatīrthē tu Yamunāyām Mṛgāvatī.
41 Karavīrē Mahālakṣmir Umādēvī Vināyakē
Ārōgyā Vaidyanāthē tu Mahākālē Mahēśvarī.
42 Abhayā Suklatīrthē tu Smṛtir vā Vindhyakandarē
Māṇḍavyē Maṇḍakī nāma Svāhā Māhēśvarē purē.
43 Chāgalāṇḍē Pracaṇḍā ca Caṇḍikāmarakaṇṭakē
Sōmēśvarē Varārōhā Prabhāsē Puṣkarāvatī.
44 Dēvamātā Sarasvatyām Pāravārataṭē matā
Mahālayē Mahābhāgā Payōṣṇē Piṅgalāvatī.
45 Siṁhikā Kṛtaśōcē tu Kārtikēyē Yaśaskarī
Utpalāvartakē Lōlā Subhadrā Sindhusaṅgamē.
46 Mātā Siddhavanē Lakṣmīr Anaṅgā Bharatāśramē
Jālandharē Viśvamukhī Tārā Kiṣkindhaparvatē.
47 Dēvadāruvanē Puṣṭir Mēdhā Kāśmīramaṇḍalē
Umādēvī Himādrau tu Saṣṭhē Vastrēśvarī tathā.

early days, when the [illegible]s of birth and occupation had not yet produced [illegible]t distinctions of caste. As soon as interc[illegible]he opposing camps had been established [illegible]n interchange of ideas between [illegible]ds of the thinking members of the two c[illegible]meditate about, and to assimilate, doctrines h[illegible]o them. In this way, I suppose, did the principle o[illegible] Female Energy and the worship of Śakti become known to the Aryans and enter into their philosophical theories, naturally in a considerably modified form. For I do not believe that any Vedic account of the creation, *e.g.*, the 129th hymn of the 12th maṇḍala of the Ṛgvēda, can be rightly interpreted as proving that a belief in such a principle existed among the ancient Aryan population of India. No doubt *Dyaus* and *Pṛthivī* appear in the Ṛgvēda respectively as God of Heaven and Goddess of Earth, and are called father and mother, but this latter expression admits of a totally different explanation, and does not indicate a worship of Mother Earth such as we find among the Gauḍa-Dravidian Hindus, a worship which in this form is also nowhere

48 Kapālamōcanē Śuddhir Mātā Kāyāvarōhaṇē
Śankhadvārē Dhvanir nāma Bhṛtiḥ Piṇḍārakē tathā.
49 Kalā tu Candrabhāgāyām Acchōdē Śūladhāriṇī
Vaiṇāyām Amṛtā nāma Badaryām Urvaśī tathā.
50 Ōṣadhī cōttarakurau Kuśadvīpē Kuśōdakī
Manmathā Hēmakūṭē tu Kumudē Satyavādinī.
51 Aśvatthē Vandanīyā tu Vidhir Vaiśravaṇālayē
Gāyatrī Vēdavadanē Pārvati Śivasannidhau.
52 Dēvalōkē tathēndrāṇi Brahmāṇgē tu Sarasvatī
Sūryabimbē Prabhā nāma Mātṛnām Vaiṣṇavī tathā.
53 Arundhatī Satīnām tu Rāmāsu ca Tilōttamā
Ciṭē Brahmakalā nāma Śaktis Sarvaśarīriṇām.
54 Ētad uddēśataḥ prōktam Nāmāṣṭaśatam uttamam
Aṣṭōttaram ca tirthānām śatam ētad udāhṛtam.

About the worship of the titular deities of different districts on the 8th day of the Durgāpujā, see *Durga Puja*, pp. 76, LXV and LXVI.

found among the other Aryan nations.[149] Yet, it had already appeared at an early date in the Sāṅkhya system which is ascribed to Kapila. According to general tradition he is said to have been a Brāhman, who lived about the seventh or eighth century B.C. However, the meaning of the word *kapila*, monkey-coloured, brown, from *kapi*, monkey, suggests a nickname, perhaps even alludes to a (foreign) extraction. The teaching of Kapila was at variance with the Vēda, and did not prove the existence of a Supreme Deity. In consequence it was stigmatized as heretical and atheistical.[150] On the other hand Kapila is called a son of Brahman, as are also the six sages Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana, Āsuri, Vōḍhu and Pañcaśikha.[151] Kapila was the precursor of Gautama Buddha who some centuries later was born in Kapilavāstu, the town of Kapila, said to have been founded by the sons of Ikṣvāku at the

[149] See *Essays and Lectures chiefly on the Religion of the Hindus* by the late H. H. Wilson; edited by Dr. Reinhold Rost, London, 1862, Vol. I, pp. 241, 242. "The worship of the female principle, as distinct from the divinity, appears to have originated in the literal interpretation of the metaphorical language of the Vedas, in which the *will or purpose to create* the universe is represented as originating from the Creator and co-existent with him as his bride, and part of himself." See also *Religious Thought and Life in India*, by Monier Williams, pp. 180—182.

[150] See *Sāṅkhyasūtra* 1, 92; "*Īśvarāsiddhēḥ*," from there being no proof that there is a God (Īśvara). The term in Sanskrit is *nirīśvara*. Śaṅkarācārya says that Kapila errs by not admitting the identity of Brahman and the Universe, by disagreeing from the Vēda and acknowledging an independent Prakṛti and a diversity of souls. See his *Brahmasūtras* II, 1: Kapilō hi na sarvātmatvadarśanam anumanyatē ātmabhēdābhyupagamāt . . ataś ca ātmabhēdakalpanayā'pi Kāpilasya tantrasya vēdaviruddhatvam vēdānusārimanuvacanaviruddhatvam ca na kēvalam svatantraprakṛtiparikalpanayā ēvēti siddham.

[151] See *Sāṅkhyakārikābhāṣyam* in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* by Īśvara Krishna, translated by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq.; also the Bhāṣya of Gauḍapāda, translated by H. H. Wilson, Bombay, 1887, p. 2:

Sanakaśca Sanandaśca tṛtīyaśca Sanātanaḥ
Āsuriḥ Kapilaścaiva Vōḍhuḥ Pañcasikhas tathā,
ityētē Brahmaṇaḥ putrāḥ sapta prōktā maharṣayaḥ.

instigation of Kapila. Viṣṇu who, as has been previously pointed out, appeared as Buddha in order to destroy the Daityas by leading them astray, became in his fifth avatāra incarnate as Kapila, whose dangerous principles were put into practice by Gautama.[152] The existence of a connexion between the teachings of Kapila and Buddha is an admitted fact. Their doctrines appealed to the feelings of the populace, already outraged by the insolence of the Brahmanic priests, though with the difference, that the Sūtras of Kapila were more appreciated by the learned, while the doctrine of Buddha set the masses in motion; in other words, the doctrine of Kapila remained a philosophical theory while the teaching of Buddha developed into a practical religion. It is therefore easily intelligible, that the assistance of the deity, *i.e.*, of Viṣṇu, was required and invoked by the orthodox Brāhmans in order to obviate any disastrous consequences and to appropriate to their own tenets, whatever appeared useful to retain.

Kapila assumed the existence of an absolute Soul (*Puruṣa*) and of an independent Creative Force (Prakṛti, Pradhāna), which altogether form 25 Tattvas or categories, and from the counting of which the philosophical system of Kapila has received the name Sāṅkhya (enumerating).[153] "Together with Kapila 'thus says the *Sāṅkhyakārikābhāṣya*' were born Virtue, Knowledge, Dispassion and Power: for he being born, and observing the world plunged in

[152] See pp. 308, 310, and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* I, 3, 10:
Pañcamaḥ Kapilō nāma siddhēśaḥ kālaviplutam
prōvācāsurayē sāṅkhyam tattvagrāmavinirṇayam.
Janaka, king of Vidēha, is said to have dismissed his hundred instructors and followed the sage Pañcaśikha, a pupil of Āsuri, who was in his turn a pupil of Kapila.
Elsewhere (in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*) Kapila is called a son of Vitatha and also of Kardama.

[153] Saṅkhyām prakurvatē caiva prakṛtiṁca pracakṣatē
Caturviṁśatitattvāni tēna sāṅkhyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ. (Mahābhārata.)

profound darkness by the succeeding series of worldly revolutions, was filled with compassion; and he communicated to his kinsman, the Brāhman *Asuri*, a knowledge of the twenty-five principles, from which knowledge the destruction of pain proceeds." [154] It is the aim of the Soul, the last tattva, to obtain its final emancipation by acquiring a complete knowledge of the other twenty-four tattvas, which are described as follows: "Creative Force is an "equal state of goodness, passion and darkness; from "creative force (comes) mind, from mind self-consciousness, from self-consciousness the five subtile principles "and both the organs (external and internal), and from "the subtile principles the gross elements. (Besides these) "the Soul. This is the number twenty-five."

The first eight tattvas are also called the *prakṛtis* or producers and the following sixteen the *vikāras* or productions. Kapila, moreover, contended that the Soul does not possess any qualities, that the Creative Force is eternal, that Soul and Creative Force are both not created, that Creative Force is always the cause, and that nothing comes out of nothing.[155]

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[154] See *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, pp. 2, 3: Kapilasya matōtpannā dharmō jñānam vairāgyam aiśvaryam ceti; ēvam sa utpannaḥ san andhatamasi majjajjagadālōkya saṁsārapāramparyēṇa satkāruṇyō jijñāsamānāya Āsurisagōtrāya brāhmaṇāyēdam pañcaviṁśatitattvānām jñānam uktavān.

[155] Compare *Sāṅkhyasūtra*, I, 61: "Sattvarajastamasām sāmyāvasthā prakṛtiḥ prakṛtēr mahān mahatō'haṅkārō'haṅkārāt pañca tanmātrāṇyubhayam indriyam tanmātrēbhyaḥ sthūlabhūtāni puruṣa iti pañcaviṁśatir gaṇāḥ. . . . . Nirguṇādiśrutivirōdhaścēti (54). Mūlē mūlābhāvāt amūlam mūlam (67). Samānaḥ prakṛtēr vyayōḥ (69). Ādyahētutā taddvārā pāramparyē'pyaṇuvat." (The Sāṅkhya aphorisms of Kapila by James R. Ballantyne, 3rd edition, 1885, pp. 56, 71, 82, 85 and 90.)

The five *tanmātras* are *śabda, sparśa, rūpa, rasa* and *gandha*. The external and internal organs (*bāhyābhyantarēnārigāṇi* or the *jñānēndriyāṇi* and *karmēndriyāṇi*) are respectively *śrōtra, tvac, cakṣus, jihvā* and *ghrāṇa*, and *vāc, pāṇi, pāda, pāyu* and *upasthā*.

The *sthūlabhūta* or *mahābhūta* or *pañcīkṛtabhūta* are *pṛthivī, āpaḥ,*

The belief in the twenty-five principles secures final beatitude, for "he who knows the twenty-five principles, whatever order of life he may have entered, and whether he wear braided hair, a top-knot only, or be shaven, he is liberated (from existence), of this there is no doubt."[156]

Kapila's investigation was made in consequence of an assumed infliction of three kinds of trouble which are personal (*ādhyātmika*), material (*ādhibhautika*) and supernatural (*ādhidaivika*).[157]

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tējas, *vāyu*, and *ākāśa*, they form the perishable *sthūlaśarīra* or material body, while the *apañcīkṛtabhūta* form the imperishable *sūkṣma* or *liṅgaśarīra*.

[156] See *Sāṅkhyakārikābhāṣya*, pp. 2, 3:

Pañcaviṁśatitattvajñō yatra tatrāśramē vasēt
jaṭī muṇḍī śikhī vāpi mucyatē nātra saṁśayaḥ.

[157] See *ibidem*, p. 2: "Duḥkhatrayābhighātājjijñāsēti; tatra duḥkhatrayam: ādhyātmikam, ādhibhautikam, ādhidaivikam, cēti." Compare about the Sāṅkhya-philosophy *the Yōgasūtra of Patañjali* translated by Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi, Bombay, 1890, Introduction, pp. III, IV: "The *Sāṅkhya* is an enumeration (*sāṅkhya*) or analysis of the universe. It starts with the proposition that the world is full of miseries of three kinds, physical (*ādhibhautika*), supernatural (*ādhidaivika*), and corporeal (*ādhyātmika*); and that these are the results of the properties of matter (*prakṛti*) and not of its inseparable correlate intelligence of consciousness (*puruṣa*). The inseparable *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* are enough in themselves to account for the whole of the phenomena of the universe, and the idea of a Creator is looked upon the Sāṅkhyas as a mere redundant phantom of philosophy. *Puruṣas* are each a centre of simple consciousness, being ever unchangeable and unique *Prakṛti* is that substratum wherein the three properties, passivity (*sattva*), energy or activity (*rajas*), and grossness (*tamas*), exist in a state of equilibrium. Energy moves the other two and evolution begins. From the first differentiation of *prakṛti* proceeds *mahat* or the germ of individuality which gives birth to *Ahaṅkāra* or individuality proper. *Ahaṅkāra* from its passive and gross sides produces, under the influence of energy, the eleven organs of action and perception, internal and external, and the five states (*tanmātras*) preceding material formation. From the *tanmātras* are evolved the five definite material elements, *ākāśa vāyu*, *tējas*, *jala*, *pṛthvī*, the five states of matter properly speaking, which enter into the formation of things. These are the twenty-four *forms* of *prakṛti* which, with the *puruṣa*, make up the twenty-five elements into which the *sāṅkhya* revolves the whole of the universe. All pain is the

The Dēvībhāgavata which has for its object the glorification of Dēvī, Prakṛti or Śakti, reproduces and adopts on the whole the theses of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. Everything that exists in this world possesses the three qualities; no visible thing exists in this world which has no qualities; the Supreme Soul or Spirit (*Paramātman*) alone has no qualities (is *nirguṇa*), but is never visible. Śakti however is both *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa*, she is always the cause but never the effect; as cause she has qualities, but, when near the Soul (*Puruṣa*) she is without qualities. Mind, self-consciousness, the qualities and the subtile principles revolve continually as cause and effect by night and day. Self-consciousness is produced by Śakti, and through it she becomes the cause. Self-consciousness which possesses the three qualities is the effect of Śakti; from self-consciousness comes that mind which is called intellect (*buddhi*); intellect is the effect, self-consciousness the cause; the subtile principles originate always from self-consciousness. They are at the time of creation the cause of the five gross elements; there are also five organs of knowledge and five organs of action, the gross elements are also five, and the mind is the sixteenth; effect and cause are surely a class of sixteen. The Supreme Being is neither effect nor cause.[158]

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result of *rajas*; all grossness, ignorance, darkness of *tamas*; all pleasure, passivity, knowledge, peace of *sattva*, the mind is a result of *rajas*, and it is *sattva* alone which by its light illumines it and enables it, at times, to catch glimpses of the blissful *puruṣa* ever near to *sattva*."

Compare the passage from the Bhagavadgītā on p. 394:

[158] Compare *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 3, 11-13, 22, etc., pp. 20, 59-72, 106:

3 Mūlaprakṛtir avikṛtir mahadādyāḥ prakṛtivikṛtayaḥ sapta
Ṣōḍaśakas tu vikārō na prakṛtir na vikṛtiḥ puruṣaḥ.

11 Triguṇam avivēki viṣayaḥ sāmānyam acētanam prasavadharmi,
Vyaktam tathā pradhānam tadviparītas tathā ca pumān.

12 Prītyaprītiviṣādātmakāḥ prakāśapravṛttiniyamārthāḥ.
anyō'nyābhibhavāśrayajananamithunavṛttayaśca guṇāḥ.

13 Sattvam laghu prakāśakam iṣṭam upaṣṭambhakam calam ca rajaḥ.
guru varṇakam ēva tamaḥ pradīpavaccārthatō vṛttiḥ.

The twelve Buddhist principles whose observance leads to final beatitude are the five organs of knowledge and the five organs of actions, together with the mind and the intellect. It is not difficult to observe, that they were derived from the Sāṅkhya philosophy.[159]

Intimately connected with the Sāṅkhya is the Yōga system, from which it mainly differs by adding, to the twenty-five tattvas for the purpose of meditation, a supreme God or *Īśvara*, who is a particular soul uninfluenced by affliction, works, fruition, and impressions. In consequence of this

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22 Prakṛtēr mahāṁstatō'haṅkāras tasmād gaṇaśca ṣōḍaśakaḥ.
tasmādapi ṣōḍaśakāt pañcabhyaḥ pañca bhūtāni.

Read *Dēvībhāgavata*, III, 6, 69—78:

69. Ēbhir vihīnam saṁsārē vastu naivātra kutracit,
vastu mātrantu yad dṛśyam saṁsārē triguṇam hi tat.
70. Dṛśyañca nirguṇam lōkē na bhūtam nō bhaviṣyati,
nirguṇaḥ paramātmāsau na tu dṛśyaḥ kadācana.
71. Saguṇā nirguṇā cāham samayē Śaṅkarōttama
sadāham kāraṇam Śambhō na ca kāryam kadācana.
72. Saguṇā kāraṇatvād vai nirguṇā Puruṣāntikē,
mahattatvam ahaṅkārō guṇāḥ śabdādayas tathā.
73. Kāryakāraṇarūpēṇa saṁsārāntē tvaharniśam,
madudbhūtaḥ tvahaṅkāraḥ tēnāham kāraṇam Śiva.
74. Ahaṅkāraśca mē kāryam triguṇō'sau pratiṣṭhitaḥ,
ahaṅkārānmahattatvam buddhiḥ sā parikīrtitā.
75. Mahattatvam hi kāryam syād ahaṅkārō hi kāraṇam,
tanmātrāṇi tvahaṅkārād utpadyantē sadaiva hi.
76. Kāraṇam pañcabhūtānām tāni sarvasamudbhavē,
karmēndriyāṇi pañcaiva pañca jñānēndriyāṇi ca.
77. Mahābhūtāni pañcaiva manaḥ ṣōḍaśam ēva ca,
kāryam ca kāraṇam caiva gaṇō'yam ṣōḍaśātmakaḥ.
78. Paramātmā pumān ādyō na kāryam na ca kāraṇam,
ēvam samudbhavaḥ Śambhō sarvēṣām ādisambhavē.

Compare these with the preceding ślōkas 29 and 30:

29. Śāśvatam kṣaṇikam śūnyam nityānityam sakartṛkam,
ahaṅkārāgrimam caiva saptabhēdair vivakṣitam.
30. Gṛhāṇāja mahattatvam ahaṅkāraḥ tadudbhavaḥ,
tatassarvāṇi bhūtāni racayasva yathā purā.

[159] See *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 28:

Jñānēndriyāṇi pañcaiva tathā karmēndriyāṇi ca
manō buddhir iti prōktam dvādaśāyatanam budhaiḥ.

assertion the philosophy of Patañjali is called *Sēśvarasāṅkhya*, the Sāṅkhya with an Īśvara, in order to distinguish it from that of Kapila, which goes by the name of *Nirīśvaraśāṅkhya*, or Sāṅkhya without an Īśvara; for according to Kapila the existence of a god is not proved.[160] The main object of Yōga is to obtain by means of practical exertions the requisite knowledge (jñāna) for securing final beatitude or mōkṣa. The use of Yōga is necessary to the worshippers of Śakti, as without it they would be unable to obtain their ultimate aim. Yet without faith or *bhakti* the practice of yōga is useless. This faith is of three different kinds. It is external faith or *bāhyabhakti* which teaches a person to follow all the observances of the Śāstras, to convince him that whatever he does, he does with the will and consent of the Deity, *i.e.*, in this case of *Śakti*, and that he is in consequence in no way responsible for his actions; or it is firmly concentrated faith, *ananyabhakti*, which grants neither hope nor expectation of any return for any good or bad deed in the present birth, as the individual creature is only the instrument for carrying out the dictates of the Divinity, who in his turn will provide him in his lifetime with whatever he requires; or lastly it is exclusive faith, *ēkāntabhakti*, which causes a man to concentrate all his thoughts on his God, without distracting them to the consideration of mere worldly affairs.[161]

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[160] See *The Yōgasūtra of Patañjali, XXIV*, *in* M. N. Dvivedi's translation, pp. V, 15, and above p. 403, note 150.

[161] The *bāhyabhakti* is performed by listening to the praises of the Deity, by praising and remembering the same, by prostrating oneself before it, by revering and serving it, by treating it like a friend, and by giving oneself entirely over to it. The Sanskrit ślōka alluding to the worship of Viṣṇu describes it as follows:—

Śravaṇam kīrtanam Viṣṇōḥ smaraṇam pādasēvanam
arcanam vandanam dāsyam sakhyam ātmanivēdanam.

According to the *Saubhāgyaratnākara* the smaraṇam consists of the nāthapārāyaṇam, nāmapārāyaṇam, ghaṭikāpārāyaṇam, tattvapārāyaṇam,

Through *bhakti* a man secures the three first of the four objects of human life, *dharma* righteousness, *artha* wealth, and *kāma* pleasure, and after a successful practice of yōga he reaches final beatitude or the fourth step *mōkṣa*, with the help of knowledge (jñāna). It has been occasionally asserted that these four aims correspond to the special desires and aspirations which prevail at the various periods of life, that *kāma* should be cultivated in youth, *artha* acquired in middle life, and *dharma* practised in old age, so that at the end of life, after death, *mōkṣa*, final beatitude, or freedom from rebirth may be gained.

The yōga whose practice is instrumental to obtaining the necessary knowledge is of four kinds; *mantrayōga*, *layayōga*, *haṭhayōga* and *rājayōga*. In the first yōga the devotee confines himself to continually uttering the praṇava or mystical syllable ŌM, whose letters A, U, M represent respectively either Brahman (creation), Viṣṇu (preservation) and Śiva (destruction), or the *sthūla-*, *sūkṣma-* and *kāraṇa-śarīra*, or the *icchā-*, *kriyā-* and *jñāna-śakti*. The Layayōga is undertaken to procure by total abstraction an assimilation of one's soul with the Supreme Soul, while in the *Haṭhayōga* the mind is forced to abstain from considering external objects and to obtain mental concentration by submitting to the eight mortifications, viz., *yama* forbearance, *niyama* restraint, *āsana* posture, *prāṇāyāma* breath-

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nityapārāyaṇam and mantrapārāyaṇam. There are forty different modes of *arcanam* and *vandanam*.

The *ananyabhakti* requires entire concentration when worshipping the deity, and the Śakti worshippers repeat continually the words *sarvam śaktimayam jagat*. The irresponsibility of the worshipper is expressed in these words: Jānāmi dharmam na ca mē pravṛttiḥ, jānāmyadharmam na ca mē nivṛttiḥ, yathā niyuktō'smi tathā karōmi (I know righteousness: it is no effort of mine; I know unrighteousness; its refusal is not mine; as I am ordered, thus I do).

The *ēkāntabhakti* regards everything as produced by the all-knowing, all-seeing Deity.

restraining, *pratyāhāra* sense-restraining, *dhāraṇā* steadying of the mind, *dhyāna* contemplation, and *samādhi* profound meditation.

When at last the desired knowledge (jñāna) has been secured by yōga, and the devotee has reached *mōkṣa* (final beatitude), he finds it consisting of certain gradations. These, at first four in number, have been eventually extended to five and six. The four best known beatitudes are: *sālōkya* (living together in the same world as), *sāmīpya* (living in proximity to), *sārūpya* (living in conformity with) and *sāyujya* (becoming identical with, the Supreme Deity). However, the beatitude secured by the *sāyujya* only lasts up to the end of the kalpa, for when after the general destruction, or *pralaya*, a new creation makes its appearance, the soul of the person who has secured *sāyujya* will participate in that creation, unless he has previously gained the two highest degrees of mōkṣa,—*sārṣṭitva* (equality) and *vidēhakaivalya* (incorporeal beatitude), *i.e.*, perfect union (*aikyam*) with the *Supreme Spirit*, and has thus become absolutely absorbed.[162]

[162] Compare Introduction to the *Yōga-Sūtra of Patañjali*, by Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi, pp. v, vi, vii. "The end proposed by *yōga* is *samādhi* leading to *kaivalya*, *Yōga* and *Samādhi* are convertible terms, for both mean *vṛttinirōdha* or suspension of the transformations of the thinking principle. *Samādhi* is of two kinds, *savikalpa* and *nirvikalpa*, called *samprajnāta* and *asamprajnāta* in the text. The first, generally speaking, is that wherein the mind is at rest only for the time, the second is that wherein, through supreme universal non-attachment, it is centred in *Sattva* and realises *Sattva* everywhere for all time. The mind being, as it were, annihilated, *puruṣa* alone shines in native bliss. This is *Kaivalya*. *Prakṛti* has played itself out for that individual *puruṣa* .... It is held that the breath (*prāṇa*) in the body is a part of the universal breath (*prāṇa*), and that health of mind and body, accompanied by spiritual bliss and knowledge, will ensue on controlling the individual (*piṇḍa* or *vyaṣṭi*) breath in such a manner as to attune it to the cosmic (*brahmāṇḍa* or *samaṣṭi*) breath. This principle in its enunciation is perfectly correct; but there are some who hold that this can be accomplished by regulating the breath (*prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, etc.), because *vṛtti*

According to the Śāktas or Śakti worshippers, only those who revere the Śakti in preference to any other deity obtain in this life supernatural powers and in the next final beatitude or absorption with Śakti; and as some of their ceremonies abound in the vilest indecencies, they boastingly proclaim that the grandeur of their creed is manifested by the fact, that while the devotee is apparently indulging in the grossest carnal passions his mind is concentrated on the Supreme Spirit.

It is in my opinion incorrect to regard Śāktism as a mere offshoot of Śaivism, though it has eventually become more intimately connected with it.[163] The veneration of the female energy is of non-Aryan origin and independent as such of Śiva. Even now a Śākta calls his goddess by any special name he choses, either Lakṣmī, Pārvatī, Sarasvatī or otherwise; according to his individual predilection as a

always follow *prāṇa*. These are called *haṭhayōgins*, because they aim only at that union of *ha* (*prāṇa*) and *ṭha* (*apāna*) which leads to *samādhi*. Their methods are therefore more physical than mental. There are, however, others who hold the contrary opinion, and address themselves principally to the work of *vṛttinirōdha*, firmly believing that *prāṇa* follows *vṛtti*. This is *rāja-yōga* (direct union with the Illustrious-soul or *Brahma*) the essence of the teachings of the unitary *Vēdānta*. The *vedāntic rāja-yōga* is the real *tāraka-jñāna*, and indeed the word rajayōga is a synonym of *samādhi*. The end proposed in *haṭha*—as well as *rāja-yōga* is the same, but the methods differ .... The Yōga believes that *prakṛti* or matter is all full of life and it pervades everything and obeys the directions of a well-trained will .... Two other kinds of *yōga* are often mentioned, but they are more or less included in the above. The first is *mantra-yōga* which consists in mentally repeating certain formulæ with intent contemplation of their meaning. This process is useful in every act of *haṭha*—as well as *rāja-yōga*. The second is *laya-yōga* which consists in intently contemplating any external object or, more properly, the internal *nāda* (sound) heard on closing the ears. This may be carried to the extent of *samādhi*. Care, however, should be taken in all *yōga*-practices not to fall into the negative condition of passive mediumship, nor to lose the point in contemplation. The *laya-yōga* also is useful in all *Haṭha*- and *Raja*- practices."

[163] See *Religious Thought and Life in India* by Monier Williams, p. 184: "Practically, as we shall see, the Śāktism of the present day is a mere offshoot of Śaivism."

Vaiṣṇava, Saiva, etc. But in whatever form Śakti is worshipped, she is regarded as the mother of all, including Brahman, as identical with the four aims of life, as being inherent in all things and containing all things, and as being the sole existence.[164]

The worship of Śakti or Prakṛti is sanctioned in the Purāṇas, but the Tantras contain the prescriptions of the Śākta ritual,[165] and are in fact esteemed by the Śāktas as a fifth Vēda. According to the Śivatantra, the five holy texts proceeded from the mouth of Śiva, the eastern, western, southern, northern, and upper, which five are famous as the paths to final emancipation. There exist many holy texts, but none is equal to the Upper text (or Vēda).[166] The Tantras occupy a high position even in the estimation of the orthodox Brāhmans, for Kullūkabhaṭṭa in his Commentary on the Mānavadharmaśāstra declares that the Revelation is twofold; Vedic and Tantric.[167] Some of the Tantras are of undoubted antiquity.

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[164] Compare this extract from the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* (Wilson, *Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. I, p. 247):

Sarvamantramayī tvam vai Brahmādyās tvatsamudbhavāḥ
caturvargātmakī tvam vai caturvargaphalōdayā,
Tvattaḥ sarvam idam viśvam tvayi sarvam jagannidhē
Yaddṛśyam yadadṛśyam ca sthūlasūkṣmasvarūpataḥ,
Yat tattvam śaktirūpēṇa kiñcinna tvadṛtē kvacit.

[165] Of such Tantra works may be mentioned the Gautamīya, Kālikātantra, Kāmākhyā, Kulacūḍāmaṇi, Kulārṇava, Mahānirvāṇa, Mantramahōdadhi, Rudrayāmala, Śaktisaṅgama, Śanatkumāra, Śāradātilaka, Śyāmārahasya, Uḍḍīsa, Vīra, Viśvaśara, Viṣṇuyāmala, etc. These Tantras are generally written in the form of dialogues between Śiva and Umā (or Pārvati), in which Śiva answers the questions of the latter concerning ceremonies and prayers, and Śiva does this even in the Vaiṣṇavatantras, *e.g.*, in the Gautamīya and Sanatkumāra.

[166] See *Śiva Tantra*; Wilson, p. 248, and *Aufrecht*, Bodleyan Catalogue VIII, p. 91:

Mama pañcamukhēbhyaśca pañcāmnāyā vinirgatāḥ
pūrvaśca paścimaścaiva dakṣiṇaścōttaras tathā.
Ūrddhvāmnāyaśca pañcaitē mōkṣamārgāḥ prakīrtitāḥ
āmnāyā bahavaḥ santi ūrddhvāmnāyēna nō samāḥ.

[167] See *Kullūkabhaṭṭa's* Commentary to Manu II, 1:

Śrutiśca dvividhā vaidikī tāntrikī ca.

The Śāktas are spread all over India and form a very numerous community among the Hindus, more especially in Bengal. Their great festival, the famous Daśaharā, is celebrated after the autumnal equinox, and extends over ten days, during which Śakti is worshipped as Durgā with great devotion and splendour and at a great expense.[168]

The Śāktas are divided with respect to their ceremonial into two main sects, the *Dakṣiṇācāris*, or right hand worshippers, and the *Vāmācāris* (Vāmis) or left hand worshippers. The *Dakṣiṇācāra* represents the purer right hand ritual, and, the *Vāmācāra*, or left hand ceremonial the gross and lascivious adoration of the Female Energy. The former cult is based on the Purāṇas, the latter on the Tantras; in the former only edible rice mixed with milk and sugar is, as a rule, now presented as an offering (*bali*), while the latter delights in bloody sacrifices;[169] the former does not indulge in obscene display, while the latter enacts the observance of some or of all the five things beginning with *m*, the so called five *Makāras*, i.e., *madya*, drinking liquor; *māṁsa*, eating meat; *matsya*, eating fish; *mudrā*, mystical intertwining of the fingers;[170] and *maithuna*, sexual intercourse.[171]

[168] See *Durga Puja*: with notes and illustrations by Pratāpachandra Ghosha, B.A., Calcutta, 1871, and *A View of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos*, by the Rev. W. Ward, Madras, 1863, pp. 64—104.

[169] See *Daksiṇācāratantrarāja* by Kāśīnātha:

Dvividhō balir ākhyātō rājasaḥ sāttvikō budhaiḥ
rājasō māṁsaraktādyaḥ palatrayasamanvitaḥ.
Mudgapāyasasaṁyuktō madhuratrayalōlitaḥ
brāhmaṇō niyataḥ śuddhaḥ sāttvikam balim āharēt.

[170] *Mudrā* has also in the Vīraśaiva-worship the meaning of eating "*fried grain.*" See *Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati's Vācaspatya*, p. 4757 and *Śabdastōmamahānidhi*, p. 488, about *Mudrā*: "Tantraprasiddhē vīrācāra-sēvyē; pṛthukās taṇḍulā bhṛṣṭā gōdhūmacaṇakādayaḥ, tasya nāma bhavēnmudrā, ityuktē pañcamakārādidravyabhēdē. Dēvaviśēṣārādhanayā-aṅgulyādisannivēśaviśēṣē." This practice does, however, not refer to the Śakti worship, as Sir M. Williams thinks *l.c.* on page 192.

[171] As according to the *Śyāmārahasya*:

Madyam māṁsañca matsyañca mudrā maithunam ēva ca,
makārapañcakañcaiva mahāpātakanāśanam.

The Dakṣiṇācāra is regarded as pure and according to the Vēda, while the Vāmācāra is deemed low, and though fit for a Śūdra, is unfit for a Brāhman, who by drinking liquor defiles himself and in consequence ceases to be a Brāhman,[172] but bloody sacrifices, especially of goats, are also occasionally made by Brāhmans. There is no doubt that human beings were not seldom immolated on the shrine of Kālī, for according to the Kālikāpurāṇa the blood of a tiger pleases the goddess for a hundred years, the blood of a lion, a reindeer or a man a thousand, but by the sacrifice of three men her favour is gained for 100,000 years.[173]

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[172] See *ibidem* (Wilson, Vol. I, p. 251):

Dakṣiṇācāratantrōktam karma tacchuddhavaidikam.

In consequence, the Dakṣiṇācāris are said to observe the *nigama* and the Vāmācaris the *āgama*. With respect to the Vāmācāra being only fit for Śūdras, read the following couplet:

Vāmāgamō maduktō'yam sarvaśūdraparaḥ priyē
brāhmaṇō madirādānād brāhmaṇyēna viyujyatē.
Na kartavyam na kartavyam na kartavyam kadācana
idam tu sāhasam dēvi na kartavyam kadācana.

Śakti should according to the right ritual be worshipped together with Śiva, and he who omits to adore the latter, will not only be unsuccessful in his prayer, but will also go to hell.

Śivaśaktim ayam rūpam sampūjyam sūdhakōttamaiḥ
yas tu sampūjayēcchaktim Śivam naiva prapūjayēt
sa ēva pātakī rōgī māntrikō durgatir bhavēt.

[173] See Appendix, pp. LIV and LV to *Durga Puja* by Pr. Ghosha: "The Śastras say that to see the idol is meritorious, but to bow to it is more meritorious than to see it, and to touch it more meritorious than to bow to it, and to worship it more than to touch it. But to bathe it is more than to touch it and to offer oblations to it more than to bathe it, but the most meritorious of all is to offer the meat of buffalo and kid as sacrifice . . . The goat for sacrifice should be well-formed and horned and of uniform black color. Both the Puranas and Tantras prohibit the sacrifice of a female animal." About the human sacrifice compare Rev. W. Ward's *View of the History, etc., of the Hindoos*, p. 91. Those animal sacrifices, though they please the goddess, expose the sacrificer to punishment, for according to the Vēdas, he who slays an animal is afterwards slain by the slain, and the king Suratha had to suffer heavily for a similar offence. He had sacrificed a great many sheep, goats, and buffaloes to Durgā, in the hope that he would enjoy as many years of happiness in heaven as there

The Vāmācāris declare Śakti to be superior to Śiva, as being his cause. In this connexion with Śakti, Śiva is specially revered as Bhairava, the terrible Bhūtēśa, and he personates in this form the chief non-Aryan God. The preference which the Vāmācāris have for the worship of the Female Principle, *i.e.*, their devotion to Dēvī, Kālī, Durgā, Rādhā, or Lakṣmī, and especially to Ambā or Jagadambā, supplies probably a proof of their connexion with, and adherence to, the original Śakti-worship of ancient times.[174]

The most influential sect of the Vāmācāris is that of the *Kaulas* or *Kulīnas*, who, not desirous of being known as such in public, adhere in secret to the Śākta ceremonial, and appear outwardly as Śaivas and socially as Vaiṣṇavas, yet, claim for themselves superiority over all other sects.[175]

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were hairs on the slain animals. But after his death Yama decided that exactly as many lives as he had once destroyed, so many times should he be for each life slain by his victims and reborn, and that not until he had atoned for each death, could he go to heaven.

[174] Compare the following passage of *Śaṅkaravijaya*: "Śaktiḥ Śivasya balakāriṇī tayā vinā tasya tṛṇacalanakriyāyām asamarthatvāt, ataḥ Śaktir ēva Śivasya kāraṇam," and "Nityapadārthayōr madhyē śaktēr adhikatvam." With respect to Bhairava the *Śyāmārahasya* says:

Bhairavō'ham iti jñātvā sarvajñō'ham guṇānvitaḥ
iti sañcintya yōgīndraḥ kulapūjām samācarēt.

[175] About the behaviour of the Kaulas compare *Śyāmārahasya*:

Antaḥ śāktā bahiḥ śaivāḥ sabhāyām vaiṣṇavā matāḥ
nānārūpadharāḥ kaulā vicaranti mahītalē;

and about their pretension to superiority the *Kulārṇava*:

Sarvēbhyaḥ cōttamā vēdā vēdēbhyō vaiṣṇavam param
vaiṣṇavād uttamam śaivam śaivād dakṣiṇam uttamam.
Dakṣiṇād uttamam vāmam vāmāt siddhāntam uttamam
siddhāntād uttamam kaulam kaulāt parataram na hi.

Only those, however, who sincerely believe in the Kaula rites, and drink wine, eat flesh, and have sexual intercourse in the firm belief of obtaining through it eternal emancipation, reap the benefit of their exertions. Others who drink wine, etc., do not obtain it according to the following ślōkas of the Kulārṇava:

Bahavaḥ kaulikam dharmam mithyājñānavidambakāḥ
svabuddhyā kalayantīttham pāramparyavivarjitāḥ.

In order to realize the object of his devotion, a Śākta has recourse to several mantras, which must be carefully recited so that they become efficient. Men and women assemble together to worship the Goddess in proper style, the male devotees are called Bhairavas or Vīras, and the women Bhairavīs or Nāyikās. Śakti herself is represented by a naked woman, and the above mentioned *makāras* are observed. Such a ceremony is called the Holy Circle (*Śrīcakra*) or full inauguration (*Pūrṇābhiṣēka*), and it is celebrated to ensure identification (*Sāyujya*) with the Supreme Spirit. No distinction of caste is made at these meetings; so long as they last, all the various members of the company are Brāhmans and equals; after they are over, each individual reverts to his proper station in life.[176]

It is not my intention to pursue this subject further, especially as it is a subject that lies beyond the scope of my enquiry, which is mainly devoted to the discovery of the original source from which Śakti-worship has flowed. It now remains for me to endeavour to trace that worship back to its fountain-head.

Ambikā has like Brahman, Viṣṇu (Rāma, Kṛṣṇa), and Śiva a thousand names by which her adherents address and honour her.[177] Various kinds of prayers are devoted to her, among which the following two are very frequently used: "O only mother of the world, hail to thee, who art four-armed, who

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Madyapānēna manujā yadi siddhim labhanti tat
madyapānaratāḥ sarvē siddhim yānti samīhitām.
Māṁsabhakṣaṇamātrēṇa yadi puṇyagatir bhavēt
lōkē māṁsāśinaḥ sarvē puṇyavantō bhavanti kim?
Strīsambhōgēna dēvēśi yadi mōkṣam vrajanti tat
sarvē'pi jantavō lōkē muktāḥ syuḥ strīniṣēvaṇāt.
Kulamārgayutō dēvi na mayā ninditaḥ kvacit
ācārarahitā yē'tra ninditās tē na cētarē.
Kuladravyāṇi sēvyantē ye'nyadarśanam āśritāḥ
tadaṅgarōmapramāṇam punar janma bhaviṣyati.

176 Pravṛttē bhairavitantrē sarvē varṇāḥ dvijōttamāḥ
nivṛttē bhairavītantrē sarvē varṇāḥ pṛthak pṛthak.

177 See *Śrīlalitāsahasranāmastōtram*, Madras, 1885, and pp. 289, 367.

hast as thy crest the digit of the moon, art high-breasted, red through the colour of saffron, and who hast in thy hand a flower-bow, a goad, a noose and a sugarcane." Secondly: one should in due form of prayer remember Ambikā, who is painted with saffron, whose musk perfume is kissed by bees, whose eye expresses a gentle smile, who has a goad, noose, bow and arrow, who allures all people, who has red garlands, ornaments and dress, and who is shining like a China rose (Hibiscus).[178]

The supreme Goddess can be worshipped in various objects and representatives, as in a golden image, in a well-ornamented pot, in water, in the flame of a lamp, in the Śrīcakra, in a married woman, in a girl, in the full moon, and in cows.[179]

On Umā, Amma, Ambā, Etc.

Ambā, Ambikā, Umā, Pārvatī, Durgā, Kātyāyanī and many other, in fact, as mentioned above, a thousand, names are given to the great Dēvī, the mother of all, who is revered as the Prakṛti (Mūlaprakṛti) and Śakti (Parāśakti). This mother of the world, the sublime knowledge, is first mentioned as *Umā* in the Kēna- or Talavakāra-Upaniṣad, where she appears as Umā Haimavatī to Indra, and attests that Brahman had won a victory for the gods. The expression Umā Haimavatī is explained, as referring either to the sublime knowledge, which manifests itself as a golden

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[178] Caturbhujē candrakalāvatamsē kucōnnatē kuṅkumarāgaśōṇē
puṇḍrēkṣupāśāṅkuśapuṣpabāṇahastē namas tē jagadēkamātaḥ.
Sakuṅkumavilēpanām alikacumbikastūrikām
samandahasitēkṣaṇām saśaracāpapāśāṅkuśām
aśēṣajanamōhinīm aruṇamālyabhūṣāmbarām
japākusumabhāsurām japavidhau smarēd ambikām.

[179] Hiraṇyapratimāyām vā sālaṅkāraghaṭē' pi vā
jalē dīpaśikhāyām ca yantrē dēvīm prapūjayēt
Suvāsinyām ca kanyāyām pūrṇacandrēṣu gōṣu ca
dēvīm ārādhayēnnityam jagatām jananīm śivām.

(*haimavatī*) and very resplendent woman Umā, or to Umā, the daughter of the mountain Himavat, in whose neighbourhood was residing the supreme Īśvara, the Umāpati or Ambikāpati.[180] In consequence of the co-existence of the Supreme Spirit with this divine knowledge the former is also called *Sōma* (sa+uma), being with Umā.[181]

The first wife of Bhava or Śiva was *Satī*. She was a daughter of Dakṣa, who, angry with his son-in-law, invited neither him nor his daughter to his great sacrifice. Satī, nevertheless, came uninvited, but as her father treated her disrespectfully, she preferred not to outlive the insult, and perished by fire. Incensed at this, Śiva disturbed the sacrifice and cut off the head of Dakṣa. Satī was eventually reborn as Umā, the daughter of Himavat and Mēnā. This pair had according to the Rāmāyaṇa two daughters, Gaṅgā and Umā; but three, Aparṇā, Ēkaparṇā and Ēkapāṭalā, according to the Harivaṁśa; Aparṇā the eldest corre-

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[180] Compare *Kēnōpaniṣad* (or *Talavakārōpaniṣad*) III, 2: "Sa tasminnēva ākāśē striyam ājagāma bahu śōbhamānām Umām Haimavatim, tām ha uvāca kim ētad yakṣam iti."

The Commentator remarks: "Tasya Indrasya yakṣē bhaktim buddhvā Vidyā Umārūpiṇī prādurabhūt strīrūpā. Sa Indraḥ tām Umām bahu śōbhamānām sarvēṣām hi śōbhamānānām śōbhanatamām Vidyām tadā *bahu śōbhamānā* iti viśēṣaṇam upapannam bhavati. Haimavatīm hēmakṛtābharaṇavatīm, iva bahu śōbhamānam ityarthaḥ. Athavā Umā ēva Himavatō duhitā Haimavatī nityam ēva sarvajñēna Īśvarēṇa saha vartatē iti jñātum samarthā iti kṛtvā tām upājagāma. Indraḥ tam ha Umām kila uvāca papraccha kim ētad darśayitvā tirōbhūtam yakṣam."

Śiva is called in the *Kaivalyōpaniṣad* (Telugu edition, p. 219) the husband of Umā (Umāsahāyam paramēśvaram prabhum trilōcanam nilakaṇṭham praśāntam).

[181] See Sāyaṇa on *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* X, 1,150: "Tadviṣayaḥ (Paramātmā) Umayā saha vartamānatvāt Sōmaḥ," and to Anuvāka 18: "Umā brahmavidyā tayā saha vartamāna Sōma paramātman." Ambikā jaganmātā Pārvatī tasyāḥ patayē bhartṛē, tasyāḥ ēva Ambikāyāḥ brahmavidyātmakō dēhaḥ Umāśabdēna ucyatē, tādṛśyāḥ Umāyāḥ patayē svāminē Rūdrāya punar namaskārō'stu". Compare Dr. J. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV, pp. 420—23.

sponding to Umā.[182] The name of Umā is in the latter work explained as being derived from the two Sanskrit words "*u mā*, o (do) not," addressed by Mēnā to her eldest daughter Aparṇā, while she was subjecting herself to an extraordinarily severe penance in order to obtain the favour of Mahādēva.[183] Professor Albrecht Weber long ago proposed to derive

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[182] See *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, I, 8, 9, 10:

9. Ēvamprakārō Rudrō'sau Satīm bhāryām avindata
Dakṣakōpācca tatyāja sā Satī svam kalēvaram.
10. Himavadduhitā sā'bhūt Mēnāyām dvijasattama
upayēmē punaścōmām ananyām bhagavān Bhavaḥ;

also Rāmāyaṇa I, 36, 15:

15. Tasyām Gaṅgēyam abhavajjyēṣṭhā Himavataḥ sutā
Umā nāma dvitīyābhūt kanyā tasyaiva Rāghava.

[183] See *Harivaṁśa*, XIII, 13—20:

13. Ētēṣām mānasī kanyā Mēnā nāma mahāgirēḥ
patnī himavataḥ śrēṣṭhā yasyā Maināka ucyatē.
14. Mainākasya sutaḥ śrīmān krauñcō nāma mahāgiriḥ
parvatapravaraḥ putrō nānāratnasamanvitaḥ.
15. Tisraḥ kanyāḥ tu Mēnāyām janayām āsa śailarāṭ
aparṇām ēkaparṇām ca tṛtīyām ēkapāṭalām.
16. Tapaścarantyaḥ sumahad duścaram dēvadānavaiḥ
lōkān santāpayām āsuḥ tāḥ tisraḥ sthāṇujaṅgamān.
17. Āhāram ēkaparṇēna ēkaparṇā samācarat
pāṭalapuṣpam ēkam ca vidadhāvēkapāṭalā.
18. Ēkā tatra nirāhārā tām mātā pratyaśēdhayat
U mā iti niṣēdhantī mātṛsnēhēna duḥkhitā
19. Sā tathōktā tayā mātrā dēvī duścaracāriṇī
Umētyēvābhavat khyātā triṣu lōkēṣu sundarī.
20. Tathaiva nāmnā tēnēha viśrutā yōgadharmiṇī
ētat tu trikumārikam jagat sthāsyati Bhārgava.

Compare *Kumārasambhava*, I, 26:

Tām Pārvatītyābhijanēna nāmnā bandhupriyām bandhujanō juhāva
U mēti mātrā tapasō niṣiddhā paścād Umākhyām sumukhī jagāma.

In the *Matsyapurāṇa*, CLIII, 294, 295 (Telugu Edition), it is the father Himavat who thus addresses his daughter:

294. Uvāca vāci śailēndrō gadgadasnēhavarṇayā
Umēti capalē putri na kṣamam tāvakam vapuḥ
295. Sōḍhum klēśātmarūpasya tapasaḥ saumyadarśanē
bhāvīnyavyabhicāryāṇi padārthāni tavaiva tu.

About Satī and Parvatī compare also *Dēvībhāgavata*, VI, 30, ff.

the word *Umā* from the Sanskrit root *u, av,* to protect.[184] The right etymology of the word is of considerable importance, not only from the position occupied by the bearer of the name, but also from the light which a correct linguistic derivation must necessarily throw on the origin of the worship of Umā.

The two principal characteristics of Śiva, expressed respectively in their mild or fierce temperament and white or black colour, reappear in his wife, when Umā or Gaurī is described as mild and white, and Kālī or Durgā as black and fierce. This distinction is probably based on ethnical peculiarities, and though at a later period both natures eventually amalgamated, still the milder form probably indicates the Aryan adaptation of the originally fierce non-Aryan deity. On the other hand it is not necessary that the Gauda-Dravidian deity, though generally fierce, should always appear thus, and not occasionally assume a milder and more amiable character. The etymology, indeed, which I propose for the word *Umā,* does not discourage such an idea, for it is, to my mind, only a slight variation of the ancient Gauda-Dravidian word *Amma,* mother, which has been admitted into the Sanskrit language as *ambā* (*ambikā*). Strangely enough the form *umma* or *uma* for *amma* is still in actual use. It is in existence, *e.g.,* in such popular names as *Ummanna,* which stands for Ammanna, and occurs in the regimental lists of the Madras Army.

By this explanation many hitherto inexplicable difficulties can be removed, and the character of Umā will appear in

[184] I have not at my disposal the *Indische Studien,* Vol. II, pp. 168 *seq.,* and so quote from Dr. John Muir's *Sanskrit Texts,* Vol. IV, p. 425: "As Ambikā, *mother,* appears to be merely a euphemistic and flattering epithet, employed to propitiate the cruel goddess, in the same way it appears that we must derive Umā from the root *av*, to protect. *It is true that a final* vowel before *ma* commonly takes *a*, or is lengthened, but the words *sima* and *hima* show that this is not necessary, and the name of Rumā is perhaps . . . a perfectly analogous formation."

the proper light as the Mother, Amma or Ambā.[185] Her male counterpart in the Gauda-Dravidian pantheon is the Lord of Ghosts, and in Brahmanic religious works she is actually described as the sister of Rudra. She is also regarded as the sister of Viṣṇu.[186] This fraternal relationship between Śiva and Viṣṇu on the one, and Ambā on the other, side indicates the amalgamation of the Aryan with the non-Aryan theogony. With the increase of Ambā's worship rose likewise her position till she had established her authority and in some respects even her supremacy.

The Ṛgvēdapariśiṣta contains in the Rātripariśiṣta, which is placed between the 127th and 128th hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala, a praise of Durgā, or a *Durgāstava*.[187] In it Durgā is praised as affording a refuge and being dear to the Bahvṛcas.

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[185] On the origin of the Gauda-Dravidian terms of relationship see my book *On the Classification of Languages*, pp. 130—132, No. 54.

[186] See p. 433; *Vājasanēyisaṁhitā*, 3,57, and Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa, I, 6, 10, 4: "Ēṣa tē Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrā Ambikayā. Ambikā jaganmātā Pārvatī."

[187] See the *Pariśiṣṭāni*, pp. 25, 26 to the Bombay edition of the Ṛgvēda, verses 5—14:

5. Stōṣyāmi prayatō dēvīm śaraṇyām bahvṛcapriyām, sahasrasammitām Durgām Jātavēdasē sunavāma sōmam.
6. Śāntyartham dvijātīnām ṛṣibhiḥ sēmapāśritāḥ, ṛgvēdē tvam samutpannā'rātīyatō nidadhāti vēdaḥ.
7. Yē tvām dēvi prapadyantē brāhmaṇāḥ havyavāhanīm, avidyāḥ bahuvidyāḥ vā sa naḥ parṣad ati durgāṇi viśvā.
8. Agnivarṇām śubhām saumyām kīrtayiṣyanti yē dvijāḥ, tān tārayati durgāṇi nāvēva sindhum duritā'ty Agniḥ.
9. Durgēṣu viṣamē ghōrē saṅgrāmē ripusaṅkaṭē, agnicōranipātēṣu duṣṭagrahanivāraṇē.
10. Durgēṣu viṣamēṣu tvāṁ saṅgrāmēṣu vanēṣu ca, mōhayitvā prapadyantē tēṣām mē abhayam kuru tēṣām mē abhayam kuru ōm namaḥ.
11. Kēśinīm sarvabhūtānām pañcamīti ca nāma ca, sa mām samāḥ niśāḥ dēvī sarvatal[illegible]rirakṣatu ōm namaḥ.
12. Tām agnivarṇām ta[illegible]alantīm vairōcanīm karmaphalēṣu juṣṭām, Durgām d[illegible]śaraṇam aham prapadyē sutarasi tarasē namaḥ sutara[illegible]asē namaḥ.
13. Durgā durgēṣu sthān[illegible]am nō dēvīr abhiṣṭayē, yaḥ imam Durgāstavam puṇya[illegible]trau rātrau sadā paṭhēt.

The sages appeal to her, who originates from the Ṛgvēda, to calm the twiceborn. Agni will help over all difficulties all Brāhmans, be they ignorant or well-informed, who resort to this goddess. Agni leads safely through all troubles those twiceborn who will praise the fire-coloured, auspicious and beautiful goddess. In difficulties, in fearful anxiety, in battle, in straits caused by enemies, in accidents of fire and of thieves, in warding off injurious planets, in difficulties, perplexities, battles, and forests bewildered people have recourse to her, to obtain security from them. Praise be to her the long-haired, who is called the Pañcamī among all creatures. May this goddess preserve those who every night in every way take refuge with the goddess Durgā, who is of fiery colour, blazing with heat, the daughter of the sun (or of the fire), she who is invoked for the reward of actions, to the energy of this most impetuous goddess be homage paid. May the goddess Durgā be inclined towards them when in difficulties.

The 12th verse of the Rātriparišišṭa is also contained in the passage of the Dēvī-Upaniṣad, where the gods stand round her, pay her obeisance as to the Supreme Deity,[188] and address her in a prayer derived from the Gāyatrī: "We think on Mahālakṣmī and meditate on her who grants universal success; Dēvī advance us."[189]

14. Rātriḥ kuśikaḥ saubharō rātrir, vā bhāradvājī, rātristavam gāyatrīm, rātrisūktam japēt nityam tatkāla upapadyatē.

The meaning of this last verse (14) is not clear:

Kuśika and Saubhara read the hymn of night, as also Bhāradvājī; the rātristava is equal to the Gāyatrī. He who mutters always the rātrisūkta at night-time obtains his desire.

Compare Dr. John Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. IV, pp. 427, 498—500.

[188] See *Dēvyupaniṣad*: Tē dēvā abruvan:

Namō dēvyai mahādēvyai śivāyai satatam namaḥ
Namaḥ prakṛtyai bhadrāyai niyatāḥ praṇatāssma tām.
Tām agnivarṇām tapasā jvalantīm vairōcanīm karmaphalēṣu juṣṭām
durgām dēvīm śaraṇam aham prapadyē sutarām nāśayatē tamaḥ.

[189] *Ibidem*: Mahālakṣmī ca vidmahē, sarvasiddhī ca dhīmahi, tannō Dēviḥ pracōdayāt.

I have previously quoted[190] some other adaptations of the Gāyatrī in which Gaurī, Lakṣmī, Dharā, Sarasvatī and Durgā (Durgi) have been similarly worshipped, thus prowing the great veneration in which Dēvī or her representatives were held. Peculiar is the text of the last Gāyatrī in the Nārāyaṇīyōpaniṣad, which begins with the masculine dative *Kātyāyanāya* and ends with *Durgi*, both nouns being explained by the commentator Sāyaṇa to refer to feminine nouns, an interpretation which is supported by the texts of the Liṅgapurāṇa (*Kātyāyanyai*) and of the Atharvaṇōpaniṣad (*Kātyāyanāyai*). Professor Albrect Weber has, as far as I know, first drawn attention to this apparent contradiction, which is the more astonishing as ten gods precede Durgi in that text. According to the Bahvṛcōpaniṣad, Dēvī was at first alone; she created the egg of the world, was known as Kāmakalā, and Śṛṅgārakalā, and created Brahman, Viṣṇu, Rudra, all the Maruts, the Gandharvas, Apsaras, Kinnaras and all instrumental players from every direction. It was she who produced all objects of enjoyment, in fact every thing, every thing connected with Śakti, all living beings born from eggs, sweat, germ, and wombs; every thing movable and immovable. She is the Parāśakti, the śāmbhavī vidyā, the kādividyā, the hādividyā, and the sādividyā; she is the knowledge of Brahman, indeed she is (Para) Brahman; she is called Ṣōḍaśī, Śrīvidyā, Pañcadaśākṣarī, Śrīmahātripurasundarī, Bālāmbikā, Bagalā, Mātaṅgī, Svayamvarakalyāṇī, Bhuvanēśvarī, Cāmuṇḍā, Caṇḍā, Vārāhī, Tiraskariṇī, Rājamātaṅgī, Śukaśyāmalā, Laghuśyāmalā, Aśvārūḍhā, Pratyaṅgirā, Dhūmavatī, Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī and Brahmānandakalā.[191]

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[190] See No. 105, pp. 363, 369.

[191] Read *Bahvṛcōpaniṣad*: Ōm, Ōm, Dēvī hyēkāgra āsīt, saiva jagadaṇḍam asṛjata, Kāmakalēti vijñāyatē, Śṛṅgārakalēti vijñāyatē; tasyā ēva

The Dēvyupaniṣad relates that all the gods stood around Dēvī and asked: "Who art thou, O great goddess," to which she replied, "I resemble in form Brahman, from me emanates the world which has the Spirit of Prakṛti and Puruṣa, I am empty and not empty, I am delight and non-delight, I am knowledge and ignorance, I am Brahman and not Brahman, I am the five perishable and imperishable elements, I am the whole world, I am the Vēda and not the Vēda, I am knowledge and ignorance, I am not born and am born, I am below, above, and horizontal, I walk about with the Rudras and Vasus, and the Ādityas and Viśvadēvas. I carry both Mitra and Varuṇa, Indra and Agni, both the Aśvins, I hold Sōma, Tvaṣṭṛ, Pūṣan and Bhaga, I hold the broad-stepping Viṣṇu, Brahman, and Prajāpati, I give the money for a good

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Brahmaṇ ajījanat, Viṣṇur ajījanat, Rudrō ajījanat, sarvē marudgaṇā ajījanan, Gandharvāpsarasaḥ, Kinnarā Vāditravādinaḥ samantād ajījanan Bhōgyam ajījanat, sarvam ajījanat, sarvam śāktam ajījanat, aṇḍajam, svēdajam, udbhijjam, jarāyujam yat kim caitat prāṇi sthāvarajaṅgamam manuṣyam ajījanat. Saiṣā parāśaktiḥ, saiṣā śāmbhavī vidyā, kādividyēti vā hādividyēti vā, sādividyēti vā, rahasyam ōm ōm vāciprātiṣṭhā saiva puratrayam, śarīratrayam vyāpya bahirantaravabhāsayantī dēśakālavastvantarāsaṅgāt mahātripurasundarī vai pratyakcitiḥ, saivātmā tatō'nyadasatyam anātmā. Ata ēṣā brahmasaṁvittiḥ bhāvābhāvakalāvinirmukta cidvidyā dviniyā brahmasaṁvittiḥ; saccidānandalaharī mahātripurasundarī bahirantaram anupraviśya svayam ēkaiva vibhāti. Yad asti sanmātram, yadvibhāti cinmātram, yatpriyam ānandam tad ētatsarvākārā mahātripurasundarī; tvam cāham sarvam viśvam sarvadēvatētarat sarvam mahātripurasundarī satyam ētam lalitākhyam vastu tadadvitīyam, akhaṇḍārtham param brahma. Pañcarūpaparityāgād asvarūpaprahāṇataḥ adhiṣṭhānam param tattvam ēkam sacchiṣyatē mahaditi. Prajñānam brahmēti vā aham brahmāsmīti vā bhāṣyatē, tattvam asītyēva sambhāṣyatē, ayam ātmā brahmēti vā brahmaivāham asmīti vā yō'ham asmīti vā sō'ham asmīti vā yō'sau sō'ham asmīti vā yā bhāvyatē saiṣā ṣōḍaśī śrīvidyā pañcadaśākṣarī śrīmahātripurasundarī bālāmbikēti bagalēti, mātaṅgīti svayamvarakalyāṇīti bhuvanēśvarīti cāmuṇḍēti caṇḍēti vārāhī tiraskariṇī rājamātaṅgiti vā śukaśyāmalētivā laghuśyāmalēti vā aśvārūḍhēti vā pratyaṅgirā dhūmāvatī sāvitrī gāyatrī sarasvatī brahmānandalakalēti. Ṛcō akṣarē paramē vyōman yasmin dēvā adhiviśvē niṣēduḥ, yaḥ tan na vēda kiṁcā kariṣyati, ya it tad viduḥ ta imē samāsatē iiyupaniṣad.

purpose to the sacrificer who offers oblations and pours out sōma-juice, I am living in every country, I confer wealth, I produce at first the father of this world, my birth-place is in the water inside the sea, who knows it obtains the abode of Dēvī.[192]

The Dēvībhāgavata contains a long description of Śakti. She is neither man, nor woman, nor eunuch at the time of the destruction of the world; at the time of creation, however, a distinction can be made.[193] She is perception, prosperity, firmness, fame, remembrance, faith, intelligence, pity, shame, hunger, covetousness, patience, beauty, tranquillity, thirst, sleep, idleness, old age and youth, knowledge and ignorance, desire, longing, strength and weakness, serum, marrow, skin, seeing, true and untrue; breathed, middling, and articulate speech; and the various veins. What is she not, and what is without her? She bears various names. Among the gods she appears as Force, she exhibits exertion, and appears as Gaurī, Brāhmī, Raudrī, Vārāhī, Vaiṣṇavī, Śivā, Vāruṇī, Kauḍērī, Nārasiṁhī and Vāsavī. She enters into all workers and does all the

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[192] See *Dēvyupaniṣad*: "Hariḥ Ōm, sarvē vai dēvā dēvīm upatasthuḥ, kāsi tvam mahādēvi? sābravīt aham brahmasvarūpiṇī, mattaḥ prakṛti-puruṣātmakam jagat, śūnyañcāśūnyañca, aham ānandānānandāḥ, aham vijñānāvijñānē, aham brahmābrahmaṇī vēditavyē, iti yājñātharvaśrutiḥ. Aham pañcabhūtānyapañcabhūtāni, aham akhilam jagat, vēdō'ham avēdo'ham; vidyāham avidyāham, ajāham anajāham; adhaścōrdhvañca tiryakcāham, aham rudrēbhir vasubhiścarāmyaham, ādityair uta viśvadēvaiḥ aham mitrāvaruṇāvubhā bibharmyaham indrāgnī aham aśvināvubhau, aham sōmam tvaṣṭāram pūṣaṇam bhagam dadhāmyaham, viṣṇum urukramam brahmāṇam uta prajāpatim dadhāmi aham dadhāmi draviṇam haviṣmatē suprāpyē yē yajamānāya sunvatē, aham rāṣṭrī saṅgamanī vasūnām, aham suvē pitaram asya mūrdhan, mama yōnir apsvantaḥ samudrē ya ēvam vēda sa dēvīpadamāpnōti." .... Dēvī is afterwards called: Ēṣātmaśaktir, ēṣā viśvamōhinī, pāśāṅkuśadhanurbāṇadharā ēṣā śrīmahāvidyā, ya ēvam vēda sa śōkam tarati; namas tē astu bhagavati bhavatī mātar asmān (the god) pātu sarvataḥ."

[193] Compare p. 426, note 194, śl. 7

work, while assigning them as the cause. She is whatever she wishes to be, chillness in the water, heat in the fire, brightness in the sun, coldness in the moon. Without her living creatures cannot for a moment even move in the world; forsaken by her, Śaṅkara cannot kill the demons. Śakti is always the cause, the agent is always combined with her, as is the case with Hari, Śambhu, Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and Pavana. With the help of Śakti the earth becomes firm, otherwise it could not carry even a soul. Śēṣa, the great serpent, on whom the world rests, the tortoise, the elephants of the quarters of the globe can perform their duties only with her assistance, she drinks all the water, suppresses the fire, and steadies the wind as she pleases.[194]

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[194] See *Dēvibhāgavata*, III, 6, 7—25:

7. Nāham strī na pumāṁścāham na klībam sargasaṅkṣayē
sargē sati vibhēdaḥ syāt kalpitō'ham dhiyā punaḥ.
8. Aham buddhir aham śrīśca dhṛtiḥ kīrtiḥ smṛtiḥ tathā
śraddhā mēdhā dayā lajjā kṣudhā tṛṣṇā tathā kṣamā.
9. Kāntiḥ śāntiḥ pipāsā ca nidrā tandrā jarājarā
vidyāvidyā spṛhā vāñchā śaktiścāśaktir ēva ca.
10. Vasā majjā ca tvak cāham dṛṣṭir vāganṛtā ṛtā
parā madhyā ca paśyantī nādyō'ham vividhāśca yāḥ.
11. Kim nāham paśya saṁsārē madviyuktam kim asti hi,
sarvam ēvāham ityēva niścayam viddhi padmaja.
12. Ētair mē niścitai rūpair vihīnam kim vadasva mē
tasmād aham vidhē cāsmin sargē vai vitatābhavam.
13. Nūnam sarvēṣu dēvēṣu nānānāma dharāmyaham
bhavāmi śaktirūpēṇa karōmi ca parākramam.
14. Gaurī Brāhmī tathā Raudrī Vārāhī Vaiṣṇavī Śivā
Vāruṇī cātha Kaubērī Nārasiṁhī ca Vāsavī.
15. Utpannēṣu samastēṣu kāryēṣu praviśāmi tān
karōmi sarvakāryāṇi nimittam tam vidhāya vai.
16. Jalē śitam tathā vahnāvauṣṇyam jyōtir divākarē
niśānāthē himam kāmam prabhavāmi yathā tathā.
17. Mayā tyaktam vidhē nūnam spanditum na kṣamam bhavēt
jīvajātañca saṁsārē niścayō'yam bhruvē tvayi.
18. Aśaktaḥ Śaṅkarō hantum daityam kila mayōjjhitaḥ
śaktihīnam naram brūtē lōkaścaivātidurbalam.
19. Rudrahīnam, Viṣṇuhīnam na vadanti janāḥ kila
śaktihīnam yathā sarvē pravadanti narādhamam.

The high estimation in which Śakti, the Female Energy, is held, shows itself in the many prayers which sages, heroes

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20. Aśaktiḥ prōcyatē lōkē nārudraḥ kōpi kathyatē
patitaḥ skhalitō bhītaḥ śāntaḥ śatruvaśaṅgataḥ.
21. Tadviddhi kāraṇam śaktir yathā tvañca sisṛkṣasi
bhavitā ca yadā yuktaḥ śaktyā kartā tadākhilam.
22. Tathā Hariḥ tataḥ Śambhuḥ tathēndrō'tha Vibhāvasuḥ
Śaśī Sūryō Yamaḥ Tvaṣṭā Varuṇaḥ Pavanaḥ tathā.
23. Dharā sthirā tadā dhartum śaktiyuktā yadā bhavēt
anyathā cēd aśaktā syāt paramāṇōśca dhāraṇē.
24. Tathā Śēṣaḥ tathā kūrmō yē'nyē sarvē ca diggajāḥ
madyuktā vai samarthāśca svāni kāryāṇi sādhitum.
25. Jalam pibāmi sakalam saṁharāmi vibhāvasum
pavanam stambhayāmyadya yad icchāmi tathācaram.

In Ślōka 10 three stages of speech are mentioned, instead of the usual four: *parā*, *vaikharī*, *madhyamā* and *paśyantī*; Ślōkas 18 and 19 contain a pun on the word *śakti*.

Compare with this description of Śakti that of Prakṛti, *ibidem* IX, I, 10—21:

10. Sā ca brahmasvarūpā ca nityā sā ca sanātanī
yathātmā ca tathā śaktir yathāgnau dāhikā sthitā.
11. Ata ēva hi yōgīndraiḥ strīpumbhēdō na manyatē
sarvabrahmamayam brahmañchaśvat sadapi Nārada.
12. Svēcchāmayaḥ svēcchayā ca Śrīkṛṣṇasya sisṛkṣayā
sāvirbabhūva sahasā Mūlaprakṛtir īśvarī.
13. Tadājñayā pañcavidhā sṛṣṭikarmavibhēdikā
atha bhaktānurōdhād vā bhaktānugrahavigrahā.
14. Gaṇēśamātā Durgā yā Śivarūpā śivapriyā
Nārāyaṇī Viṣṇumāyā pūrṇabrahmasvarūpiṇī
15. Brahmādidēvair munibhir manubhiḥ pūjitā stutā
sarvādhiṣṭhātṛdēvī sā sarvarūpā sanātanī.
16. Dharmasatyā puṇyakōṭir yaśōmaṅgaladāyinī
sukhamōkṣaharṣadātrī śōkārtiduḥkhanāśinī.
17. Śaraṇāgatadīnārta paritrāṇaparāyaṇā
tējassvarūpā paramā tadadhiṣṭhātṛdēvatā.
18. Sarvaśaktisvarūpā ca śaktir Īśasya santatam
siddhēśvarī siddharūpā siddhidā siddhir īśvarī.
19. Buddhir nidrā kṣut pipāsā chāyā tandrā dayā smṛtiḥ
jātiḥ kṣāntiśca bhrāntiśca śāntiḥ kāntiśca cētanā.
20. Tuṣṭiḥ puṣṭiḥ tathā lakṣmīr dhṛtir māyā tathaiva ca
sarvaśaktisvarūpā sā Kṛṣṇasya paramātmanaḥ.
21. Uktaḥ śrutau śrutaguṇaścāpi svalpō yathāgamam
guṇō styanantō'nantāyā aparām ca niśāmaya.

and even gods address to her in the Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa and other epic poems. As *Āryā* she is invoked in a long supplication by the ancient Sages, as *Dēvī* by the imprisoned Aniruddha, the son of Pradyumna, as *Durgā* her assistance is requested by Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna, and her favour is sought by Viṣṇu in the form of *Nidrā kālarūpiṇī* when he descends to the infernal regions to thwart with her assistance the machinations of Kaṁsa.

In the hymn of Arjuna she has many names; *e.g.* Army-leaderess of the Siddhas, the dweller on Mandara, Kumārī, Kālī, Kāpālī, Kapilā, Kṛṣṇapiṅgalā, Bhadrakālī, Mahākālī, Caṇḍī, Caṇḍā, Tāriṇī, Varavarṇinī (best coloured), Kātyāyanī, Karālī, Vijayā, Jayā, younger sister of Kṛṣṇa, eldest in the family of the cowherd Nanda, Kauśikī, Umā, Śākambharī, Śvētā, Kṛṣṇā, destroyer of Kaiṭabha, Hiraṇyākṣī, Virūpākṣī, Dhūmrākṣī, Vēdaśruti, Jātavēdasī, continual resident near the Jambu mountains and graves, the Brahmavidyā of sciences, the Mahānidrā of living bodies, mother of Skanda, venerable Durgā, dweller in wildernesses. She is addressed as Svāhā, Svadhā, Kalā, Kāṣṭhā, Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī, as mother of the Vēda, and also as the end of the Vēda. She, the great goddess, is praised with a pure heart; through her favour victory will always be obtained in the battlefield. She ever abides in the wilderness; she protects her devout followers when in fear and troubles and also when in Hell, she conquers in battle the Dānavas; she is Jambhanī, Mōhinī, Māyā, Hrī, Śrī, Sandhyā, the resplendent, Sāvitrī, Mother, Tuṣṭi, Puṣṭi Dhṛti, Dīpti, increaser of sun and moon; strength of the strong in fight, as which she is seen by the Siddhas and Cāraṇas.[195]

[195] See *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparvan, XXIII, 4—16: Arjuna uvāca:
4. Namas tē Siddhasēnāni Āryē Mandaravāsini
Kumāri Kāli Kāpāli Kapilē Kṛṣṇapiṅgalē.
5. Bhadrakāli namas tubhyam Mahākāli nam'ōstu tē
Caṇḍi Caṇḍē namas tubhyam Tāriṇi Varavarṇini.

In the Durgāstava of the Ṛgvēdapariśiṣṭa, the sages appeal to Durgā for assistance.[196] In a similar manner the ancient sages invoke her as Āryā in the Harivaṁśa. This prayer is preceded by an account of Viṣṇu's descent to the infernal regions which he visits in order to persuade Śakti to frustrate, in the form of Nidrā Kālarūpiṇī, the nefarious designs of Kaṁsa. Viṣṇu presumes in his request a certain superiority over Śakti. He promises her a place among the gods, if she does what he wishes, Indra would acknowledge her as his sister Kauśikī, she would obtain a residence in the Vindhya mountains, destroy the two giants Śumbha and Niśumbha, and be worshipped by the ghosts on the ninth day with animal sacrifices, as she is fond of spirituous liquor, flesh, and offerings. Finally she is described as providing for men, who believe in her, an escape

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6. Kātyāyani mahābhāgē Karāli Vijayē Jayē
śikhipiñchadhvajadharē nānābharaṇabhūṣitē.
7. Aṭṭaśūlapraharaṇē khaḍgakhēṭakadhāriṇi
gōpēndrasyānujē jyēṣṭhē Nandagōpakulōdbhavē.
8. Mahiṣāsṛkpriyē nityam Kauśiki pītavāsini
aṭṭahāsē kōkamukhē namas tē'stu raṇapriyē.
9. Umē Śākambhari Śvētē Kṛṣṇē Kaiṭabhanāśini
Hiraṇyākṣi Virūpākṣi Dhūmrākṣi ca nam'ōstu tē.
10. Vēdaśruti mahāpuṇyē brahmaṇyē Jātavēdasi
Jambūkaṭakacaityēṣu nityam sannihitālayē.
11. Tvam brahmavidyā vidyānām mahānidrā ca dēhinām
Skandamātar bhagavati Durgē kāntāravāsini.
12. Svāhākāraḥ Svadhā caiva Kalā Kāṣṭhā Sarasvatī
Sāvitrī Vēdamātā ca tathā Vēdānta ucyatē.
13. Stutā'si tvam Mahādēvi viśuddhēnāntarātmanā
Jayō bhavatu mē nityam tvatprasādād raṇājirē.
14. Kāntārabhayadurgēṣu bhaktānām pālanēṣu ca
nityam vasasi pātālē yuddhē jayasi dānavān.
15. Tvam Jambhanī Mōhinī ca Māyā Hrīḥ Śrīḥ tathaiva ca
Sandhyā prabhāvatī caiva Sāvitrī Jananī tathā.
16. Tuṣṭiḥ Puṣṭir Dhṛtir Dīptiś candrādityavivardhinī
bhūtir bhūtimatām saṅkhyē vikṣyasē siddhacāraṇaiḥ.

Compare *Bhāgavata*, X, 2, 6—13.

[196] See pp. 422, 423.

when placed in deserts, or plunged in the ocean, or attacked by thieves.[197]

In the praise of Āryā, which the sages sing, the superiority of the goddess is distinctly stated. She is addressed as Nārāyaṇī, as the supreme goddess of the three worlds (Tribhuvanēśvarī), and by the names given to her by Arjuna. She is described as always abiding on fierce mountain-peaks, in rivers, caves, forests and groves. She is greatly revered by the Pulindas, Śabaras and Barbaras, resides in the Vindhya mountains, and is fond, as has been previously stated, of spirituous drink, flesh, and offerings. She is a sister of Baladēva, the mother of the swarm of ghosts, the splendour of lights, the Rōhiṇī of Nakṣatras: she resides at the doors of kings, at holy waterplaces at the conflux of rivers: she is the full moon, the right intellect of the sages, and dwells in the minds [illegible] she is on account of her deeds praised among the gods: as the goddess of liquor; among the different goblins knowledge she is the Brahmavidyā; the whole kinds of encompassed by her, the movable as well as the immvorld is she is the safe protectress in all conflicts, at fires, ovable: n holy

[197] See *Harivaṁśa*, 57, 48—55:

48. Tatraiva tvām bhaginyarthē gṛhiṣyati sa Vāsavaḥ
Kuśikasya tu gōtrēṇa Kauśikī tvam bhaviṣyasi.
49. Sa tē Vindhyē nagaśrēṣṭhē sthānam dāsyati śāśvatam
tatas sthānasahasrais tvam pṛthivīm śōbhayiṣyasi.
50. Trailōkyacāriṇī sā tvam bhuvi satyōpayācanā
cariṣyasi mahābhāgē varadā kāmarūpiṇī.
51. Tatra Śumbhaniśumbhau dvau Dānavau nagacāriṇau
tau ca kṛtvā manasi mām sānugau nāśayiṣyasi.
52. Kṛtānuyātrā bhūtais tvam surāmāṁsabalipriyā
tithau navamyām pūjām tvam prāpsyasē sapaśukriyām.
53. Yē ca tvām matprabhāvajñāḥ praṇamiṣyanti mānavāḥ
tēṣām na durlabham kiñcit putratō dhanatō'pi vā.
54. Kāntārēṣvavasannānām magnānām ca mahārṇavē
dasyubhir vā niruddhānām tvam gatiḥ paramā nṛṇām.
55. Tvām tu stōṣyanti yē bhaktyā stavēnānēna vai śubhē
Tasyāham na praṇaśyāmi sa ca mē na praṇaśyati.

crossing places of rivers, among thieves, in deserts, in fear, in exile, in prison, in hostile onslaught and in life-endangering positions. In her confides the heart, in her rests the mind, she protects from all sins, she should be propitiated.[198]

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[198] See *Harivaṁśa*, LVIII, 1—33:

1. Āryāstavam pravakṣyāmi yathōktam ṛṣibhiḥ purā
Nārāyaṇīm namasyāmi dēvīm tribhuvanēśvarīm.
2. Tvam hi siddhir dhṛtiḥ kīrtiś śrīr vidyā sannatir matiḥ
sandhyā rātriḥ prabhā nidrā kālarātris tathaiva ca.
3. Āryā kātyāyanī dēvī kauśikī brahmacāriṇī
jananī siddhasēnasya ugracārī mahābalā.
4. Jayā ca vijayā caiva puṣṭis tuṣṭiḥ kṣamā dayā
jyēṣṭhā yamasya bhaginī nīlā kauśēyavāsinī.
5. Bahurūpā virūpā ca anēkavidhicāriṇī
virūpākṣī viśālākṣī bhaktānām parirakṣiṇī.
6. Parvatāgrēṣu ghōrēṣu nadīṣu ca guhāsu ca
Vāsas tava mahādēvi vanēṣūpavanēṣu ca.
7. [illegible] barbaraiścaiva pulindaiśca supūjitā
[illegible]rapiñchadhvajinī lōkān kramasi sarvaśaḥ.
8. [illegible]utaiścchāgalair mēṣais siṁhair vyāghrais samākulā
[illegible]ninādabahulā vindhyavāsinyabhiśrutā.
[illegible]śūlīpaṭṭiśadharā sūryacandrapatākinī
9. Tavamī kṛṣṇapakṣasya śuklasyaikādaśī tathā.
Bhaginī baladēvasya rajanī kalahapriyā
10. āvāsas sarvabhūtānām niṣṭhā tvam paramā gatiḥ.
Nandagōpasutā caiva dēvānām vijayāvahā
11. cīravāsās suvāsāśca raudrī sandhyācarī niśā.
Prakīrṇakēśī mṛtyuśca surāmāṁsabalipriyā
lakṣmīr alakṣmīrūpēṇa dānavānām vadhāya ca.
Sāvitrī cāpi dēvānam āryā mantraganēṣu ca
kanyānām brahmacaryatvam saubhāgyam pramadāsu ca.
14. Antarvēdī ca yajñānāṁ ṛtvijām caiva dakṣiṇā
karṣukāṇām ca sītēti bhūtānām dharaṇiti ca.
15. Siddhis tvam yātrikāṇām tu mātā bhūtagaṇasya ca
yakṣāṇām prathamā yakṣī nāgānām surasēti ca.
16. Brahmavādityathō dikṣā śōbhā ca paramā tathā
jyōtiṣām tvam prabhā dēvi nakṣatrāṇām ca rōhiṇī.
17. Rājadvārēṣu tīrthēṣu nadīnām saṅgamēṣu ca
pūrṇā ca pūrṇimā candrē tvam buddhiḥ ambikā śuciḥ.
18. Sarasvaī ca vālmīkē smṛtir dvaipāyanē tathā
ṛṣīṇām dharmabuddhis tu dēvānām mānasī tathā.
19. Surā dēvī u bhūtēṣu stūyasē tvaṁ svakarmabhiḥ.
Indrasya cōdṛṣṭis tvam sahasranayanēti ca.

Aniruddha was kept a prisoner by Bāṇa in his town Bāṇapura, and in his anxiety prayed to the naked Dēvī to deliver him from his precarious position. After a few words addressed to the endless, imperishable, divine, primordial and eternal god Nārāyaṇa, he turns to Dēvī, whom he calls the sister of Indra and Viṣṇu, and whose names and deeds he extols in about twenty-five stanzas. She is the mother of the Vēdas. He says that she resides in Malaya, in the Vindhya, and on Kailāsa, in fact on all mountains; that she is fond of flowers, is the goddess of liquor and delights in liquor, appears as a wild forest-woman, dresses in bark. He also mentions her as the destroyer of the demons

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20. Tāpasānām ca dēvī tvam araṇī cāgnihōtriṇām
Kṣudhā ca sarvabhūtānām tṛptis tvam daivatēṣu ca.
21. Svāhā tṛptir dhṛtir mēdhā vasūnām tvam vasūmatī
Āśā tvam mānuṣāṇām ca puṣṭiśca kṛtakarmaṇām.
22. Diśaśca vidiśaścaiva tathā hyagniśikhā prabhā
Śakunī pūtanā tvam ca rēvatī ca sudāruṇā.
23. Nidrāpi sarvabhūtānām mōhinī kṣatriyā tathā
Vidyānām brahmavidyā tvam tvam ōmkārō vaṣaṭ tathā.
24. Nārīṇām pārvatīm ca tvām paurāṇīm ṛṣayō viduḥ
Arundhatī ca sādhvīnām prajāpativacō yathā.
25. Yathārthanāmabhir divyair indrāṇī cēti viśrutā
tvayā vyāptam idam sarvam jagat sthāvarajaṅgamam
26. Saṅgrāmēṣu ca sarvēṣu agniprajvalitēṣu ca
nadītīrēṣu caurēṣu kāntārēṣu bhayēṣu ca.
27. Pravāsē rājabandhō ca śatrūṇām ca pramardanē
prāṇātyayēṣu sarvēṣu tvam hi rakṣā na saṁśayaḥ.
28. Tvayi mē hṛdayam dēvi tvayi cittam manas tvayi
raksa mām sarvapāpēbhyaḥ prasādam kartum arhasi.
29. Imam yas sustavam divyam iti vyāsaprakalpitam
yaḥ paṭhēt prātar utthāya śuciḥ prayatamānasaḥ.
30. Tribhir māsaiḥ kāṅkṣitam ca phalam vai samprayacchati
ṣaḍbhir māsair variṣṭham tu varam ēkam prayacchati.
31. Arcitā tu tribhir māsair divyam cakṣuḥ prayacchati
saṁvatsarēṇa siddhim tu yathākāmam prayacchati.
32. Satyam brahma ca divyam ca dvaipāyanavacō yathā
nṛṇām bandham vadham ghōram putranāśam dhanakṣayam.
33. Vyādhimṛtyubhayam caiva pūjitā śamayiṣyasi
bhaviṣyasi mahābhāgē varadā kāmarūpiṇī.

Śumbha and Niśumbha. She cannot be imagined by thoughts, nor in any way fashioned. The mere uttering of her name comprises Brahman, Viṣṇu, Rudra, the moon, sun and the winds, the two Aśvins, the Vasus, the Earth, the ten regions, in fact the whole world.[199]

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[199] See *Harivaṁśa*, CLXXV, 1—48 :

1. Yadā Bāṇapurē vīraś śō'niruddhas sahōṣayā
sanniruddhō narēndrēṇa bāṇēna balisūnunā.
2. Tadā dēvīm kōṭavatīm rakṣārtham śaraṇam gataḥ
yad gītam Aniruddhēna dēvyās stōtram idam śṛṇu.
3. Anantam akṣayam divyam ādidēvam sanātanam
Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya pravaram jagatām prabhum.
4. Caṇḍīm Kātyāyanīm Dēvīm Āryām lōkanamaskṛtām
varadām kīrtayiṣyāmi nāmabhir Harisamstutaiḥ.
5. Ṛṣibhir daivataiścaiva vākpuṣpair arcitām śubhām
tām dēvīm sarvadēhasthām sarvadēvanamaskṛtām.
Aniruddha uvāca :
6. Mahēndraviṣṇubhaginīm namasyāmi hitāya vai
manasā bhāvaśuddhēna śucis stōṣyē kṛtāñjaliḥ.
7. Gautamīm Kuṁsabhayadām Yaśōdānandavardhinīm
Mēdhyām gōkulasambhūtām Nandagōpasya nandinīm.
8. Prajñām dakṣām śivām saumyām danuputravimardinīm
tām dēvīm sarvadēhasthām sarvabhūtanamaskṛtām.
9. Darśanīm pūraṇīm Māyām vahnisūryaśaśiprabhām
śāntim dhruvām ca jananīm Mōhanīm śōṣanīm tathā.
10. Sēvyām dēvaiḥ sarṣigaṇaiḥ sarvadēvanamaskṛtām
Kālīm, Kātyāyanīm dēvīm bhayadām bhayanāśinīm.
11. Kālarātrim Kāmagamām trinētrām brahmacāriṇīm
saudāmanīm mēgharavām vētālīm vipulānanām.
12. Yūthasyādyām mahābhāgām Śakunīm Rēvatīm tathā
tithīnām pañcamīm saṣṭhīm pūrṇamāsīm caturdaśīm.
13. Saptaviṁśatirkṣāṇi nadyas sarvā diśō daśa
nagarōpavanōdyānadvārāṭṭālakavāsinīm.
14. Hrīm Śrīm gaṅgām ca gandharvām yōginīm yōgadām satām
kīrtim āśām diśam sparśām namasyāmi Sarasvatīm.
15. Vēdānām mātaram caiva Sāvitrīm bhaktavatsalām
tapasvinīm śāntikarīm ēkānaṁśām sanātanīm.
16. Kauṭiryām Madirām Caṇḍām Ilām Malayavāsinīm
Bhūtadhātrīm bhayakarīm Kūṣmāṇḍīm kusumapriyām.
17. Dārunīm madirāvāsām Vindhyakailāsavāsinīm
varāṅgagām simharathīm bahurūpām vṛsadhvajām.
18. Durlabhām durjayām durgām Niśumbhabhayadarśinīm
surapriyām surām dēvīm vajrapāṇyanujām Śivām.

In nearly all these addresses, great stress is laid on the circumstance that Dēvī is living on the peaks of mountains, in the Malaya, Vindhya and on Kailāsa, that is in Northern,

19. Kirātīm cīravasanām caurasēnānamaskṛtām
ājyapām sōmapām saumyām sarvaparvatavāsinīm.
20. Niśumbhaśumbhamathanīm gajakumbhōpamastanīm
jananīm siddhasēnasya siddhacāraṇasēvitām.
21. Carām kumāraprabhavām pārvatīm parvatātmajām
pañcāśaddēvakanyānām patnyō dēvagaṇasya ca.
22. Kadrūputrasahasrasya putrapautravarastriyāḥ
mātā pitā jaganmānyā divi dēvāpsarōgaṇaiḥ.
23. Ṛṣipatnīgaṇānām ca yakṣagandharvayōṣitām
Vidyādharāṇām nārīṣu sādhvīṣu manujāsu ca.
24. Ēvamētāsu nārīṣu sarvabhūtāśrayā hyasi
namaskṛtāsi trailōkyē kinnarōdgītasēvitē.
25. Acintyā hyapramēyāsi yāsi sāsi namō'stu tē
ēbhir nāmabhir anyaiśca kīrtitā hyasi Gautami.
26. Tvatprasādād avijñēna kṣipram mucyēya bandhanāt
avēkṣasva viśālākṣi pādau tē śaraṇam vrajē
27. Sarvēṣām ēva bandhānām mōkṣaṇam kartum arhasi
Brahmā Viṣṇuśca Rudraśca Candrasūryāgnimārutāḥ.
28. Aśvinau Vasavaścaiva Dhātā Bhūmir diśō daśa
marutā saha Parjanyō Dhātā Bhūmir diśō daśa.
29. Gāvō nakṣatravaṁśaśca grahanadyō hradās tathā
saritas sāgarāścaiva nānāvidhyādharōragāḥ.
30. Tathā nāgās Suparvāṇō Gandharvāpsarasām gaṇāḥ.
kṛtsnam jagad idam prōktam dēvyā nāmānukīrtanāt.
31. Dēvyās stavam idam puṇyam yaḥ paṭhēt susamāhitaḥ
sā tasmai saptamē māsi varam agryam prayacchati.
32. Aṣṭādaśabhujā dēvī divyābharaṇabhūṣitā
hāraśōbhitasarvāṅgī mukuṭōjjvalabhūṣanā.
33. Kātyāyanī stūyasē tvam varam agryam prayacchasi
atas stavīmi tvām dēvīm varadē vāmalōcanē.
34. Namō'stu tē mahādēvi suprītā mē sadā bhava
prayaccha tvam varam hyāyuḥ puṣṭim caiva kṣamām dhṛtim.
35. Bandhanasthō vimucyēya satyam ētad bhavēd iti. . . .
42. Namō'stu tē dēvi varapradē śivē namō'stu tē dēvi surārināśini.
43. Namō'stu tē kāmacarē sadāśivē namō'stu tē sarvahitaiṣiṇi priyē
namō'stu tē bhayakari vidviṣām sadā namō'stu tē bandhanamōkṣakāriṇi.
44. Brahmāṇīndrāṇi Rudrāṇi bhūtabhavyabhavē śivē
trāhi mām sarvabhītibhyō Nārāyaṇi namō'stu tē.
45. Namō'stu tē jaganmātrē priyē dāntē mahāvratē,
bhaktipriyē jaganmātaś śailaputri vasundharē.

Central and Southern India, and that she is fond of drinking intoxicating liquor and eating flesh. It is also stated that she is particularly worshipped by the Śabaras, Pulindas and Barbaras, or by the chief aboriginal races of India, thus supplying a strong foundation for the supposition that the cult of Dēvī or of the Female Energy arose among the non-Aryan races, and was not imported into this country by the victorious Aryans. Some of the aboriginal tribes have up to the present held aloof from adopting Hindu customs and beliefs; and among such tribes, who worship the Earth-deity, are still included many Śabara and Gond clans. These extracts must therefore be regarded as supplying important evidence concerning the primitive seat of the worship of the Female Energy.

The Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa devotes a considerable section to the glorification of the great Dēvī.[200] This portion is called the *Caṇḍīpāṭha* or *Saptaśatī*, as the description of Caṇḍī occupies, in thirteen chapters, seven hundred ślōkas. It records the exploits of Dēvī, especially her victories over the demons Mahiṣāsura, Caṇḍa, Muṇḍa, Śumbha, Niśumbha and others. In various places the gods proclaim her grandeur and supreme power. Among other passages of this kind may be mentioned here the prayer which Brahman addresses to her while hiding himself in the lotus navel of Viṣṇu, for fear of being killed by the two terrible demons Madhu and

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46. Trāhi mām tvam viśālākṣi Nārāyaṇi namō'stu tē
trāyasva sarvaduḥkhēbhyō dānavānām bhayaṅkari,
47. Rudrapriyē Mahābhāgē bhaktānām ārtināśini
namāmi śirasā dēvīm bandhanasthō vimōkṣitaḥ
48. Vaiśampāyana uvāca:
Aryāstavam idam puṇyam yaḥ paṭhēt susamāhitaḥ
sarvapāpavinirmuktō Viṣṇulōkam sa gacchati
bandhanasthō vimucyēta satyam Vyāsavacō yathā.

[200] See *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa*, LXXVI—LXXXVIII.

Kaiṭabha;[201] the thanks which the gods offer her for killing the demon Mahiṣāsura,[202] their request to protect them against the fiends Śumbha and Niśumbha,[203] and their thanksgiving to Kātyāyanī celebrating her as Nārāyaṇī.[204]

At the time of the general dissolution, when Brahman was tossed about by anxious meditation and was dwelling in a lotus not knowing what to do, he was frightened by the sudden appearance of the two demons *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha*,[205]

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[201] See *ibidem*, LXXVI, 60—73:

60 *b*. Viśvēśvarim jagaddhātrīm sthitisaṁhārakāraṇam.
61. Staumi nidrām bhagavatīm viṣṇōr atulatējasaḥ
tvam svāhā tvam svadhā tvam hi vaṣaṭkāras svarātmikā.
62. Sudhā tvam akṣarē nityē tridhā mātrātmikā sthitā
ardhamātrā sthitā nityā yānuccāryā viśēṣataḥ.
63. Tvam ēva sandhyā sāvitrī tvam dēvī jananī parā
tvayaitad dhāryatē viśvam tvayaitat sṛjyatē jagat.
64. Tvayaitat pālyatē dēvi tvam atyantē ca sarvadā
visṛṣṭan sṛṣṭirūpā tvam sthitirūpā ca pālanē
65. Tathā saṁhṛtirūpāntē jagatō'sya jaganmayī
mahāvidyā mahāmāyā mahāmēdhā mahāsmṛtiḥ
66. Mahāmōhā bhagavatī mahādēvī mahēśvarī
prakṛtis tvam ca sarvasya guṇatrayavibhāgini.
67. Kālarātrir mahārātrir mōharātriśca dāruṇā
rātriśca pañcadhā prōktā tvam ēkaklēśahāriṇī.
68. Tvam śrīs tvam īśvarī tvam hrīs tvam buddhir bōdhalakṣaṇā
lajjā puṣṭis tathā tuṣṭis tvam śāntiḥ kṣāntir ēva ca.
69. Khaḍginī śūlinī ghōrā gadinī cakriṇī tathā
śaṅkhinī cāpinī bāṇabhusuṇḍiparighāyudhā.
70. Saumyā saumyatarā śēṣasaumyēbhyas tvatisundari
parāparāṇāṁ paramā tvam ēva paramēśvarī
71. Yacca kiñcit kvacidvastu sadasad vā khilātmakē
tasya sarvasya yā śaktis sā tvam kim stūyasē mayā.
72. Yayā tvayā jagatsraṣṭā jagatpātyatti yōgavit
sō'pi nidrāvaśam nitaḥ kas tvām stōtum ihēśvaraḥ.
73. Viṣṇōḥ śarīragrahaṇam aham īśāna ēva ca
kāritās tē yatō'tas tvām kas stōtum śaktimān bhavēt.

[202] See *ibidem*, LXXIX, 1—27.

[203] See *ibidem*, LXXX, 14—112

[204] See *ibidem*, LXXXVI, 1—36.

[205] See *Dēvībhāgavata*, III, II, 21—25:

21. Tadā daityāvati prāptau dāruṇau Madhu-Kaiṭabhau
tābhyām vibhiṣitaścāham yuddhāya makarālayē.

who had been formed from the earwax of Viṣṇu and who wanted to destroy him. Viṣṇu was at that very moment plunged in deep sleep, for Śakti had entered him in the form of the Yōganidrā, and Brahman fled into the water praying to Dēvī to grant him her assistance. Responding to his supplication she emerged from the body of Viṣṇu, who fought with the two demons and destroyed them. According to the description of Brahman, the Dēvī, who appeared as Bhuvanēśvarī, was very beautiful, wore red garments, and was painted with red sandal.[206] Her red eyes shone like crores of lightning, and with her charming face and red lips surpassed crores of Lakṣmīs. She was brilliant like the sun. with one hand she granted a boon, with another

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22. Tatō'ham nālam ālambya vārimadhyam avātaram
tadā tatra mayā dṛṣṭaḥ puruṣaḥ paramādbhutaḥ.
23. Mēghaśyāmaśarīras tu pītavāsāś caturbhujaḥ
śēṣaśāyī jaganuāthō vanamālāvibhūṣitaḥ.
24. Śaṅkhacakragadāpadmādyāyudhais suvirājitaḥ
tam adrākṣam mahāviṣṇum śēṣaparyaṅkaśāyinam.
25. Yōganidrāsamākrāntam aviṣpandinam acyutam
śayānam tam samālōkya bhōgibhōgōpariṣṭhitam.

Compare also *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa*, LXXVI, 57:

57. Āstīrya śēṣam abhajat kalpāntē bhagavān prabhuḥ
tadā dvāvasurau ghōrau vikhyātau Madhu-Kaiṭabhau.
58. Viṣṇukarṇamalōdbhūtau hantum Brahmāṇam udyatau
sa nābhikamalē Viṣṇōs sthitō Brahmā Prajāpatiḥ.
59. Dṛṣṭvā tāvasurau cōgrau prasuptam ca Janārdanam
tuṣṭāva yōganidrām tām ēkāgrahṛdayas sthitaḥ.

[206] See *Dēvībhāgavata*, III, 4.

A similar description of her is contained *ibidem*, IX, 2, 64—76:

64. Ētasmin antarē vipra sahasā Kṛṣṇadēvatā
āvirbabhūva Durgā sā Viṣṇumāyā sanātanī.
65. Dēvī Nārāyaṇīśānā sarvaśaktisvarūpiṇī
buddhyadhiṣṭhātṛdēvī sā Kṛṣṇasya paramātmanaḥ.
66. Dēvīnām bhijarūpā ca mūlaprakṛtir Īśvarī
paripūrṇatamā tējassvarūpā triguṇātmikā.
67. Taptakāñcanavarṇābhā kōṭisūryasamaprabhā
īṣaddhāsyaprasannasyā sahasrabhujasaṃyutā.
68. Nānāśastrāstranikaram bibhrati sā trilōcanā
vahniśuddhāṃśukādhānā ratnabhūṣaṇabhūṣitā.

she promised protection, the other two wore a nooṣe and an elephant hook. She was like no one else, her smilo looked like an ornament. The people who attended on her uttered the word hrīm, and all around her swarmed birds. She looked like a girl endowed with perpetual youth, she was beautifully dressed and covered with splendid gems and gold ornaments on her shoulders, arms, and head. The goddess was seated on a yantrarāja in the middle of a hexagon ( ). At a distance she looked like a woman with a thousand eyes, a thousand hands and faces, and her appearance created a doubt, whether she was not an Apsaras, a Gandharvī, or a Dēvāṅganā. Viṣṇu, however, recognized her as Ambā (the mother), the venerable goddess, the cause of the three gods, the great Wisdom, the great Illusion, the all-pervading being, the Creative Force (prakṛti), the imperishable; as her who is the desire of the Supreme Soul, and is at once eternal and not eternal. She plays after destroying the whole world, and keeps in her own body the inner bodies of all living creatures.[207]

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69. Yasyāścāṁśāṁśakalayā babhūvuḥ sarvayōṣitaḥ
sarvē viśvasthitā lōkā mōhitās syuśca Māyayā.
70. Sarvaiśvaryapradātrī ca kāminām gṛhavāsinām
kṛṣṇabhaktipradā yā ca Vaiṣṇavānām ca Vaiṣṇavī.
71. Mumukṣūṇām mōkṣadātrī sukhinām sukhadāyinī
svargēṣu svargalakṣmiśca gṛhalakṣmīr gṛhēṣu ca.
72. Tapasviṣu tapasyā ca śrīrūpā tu nṛpēṣu ca
yā vahnau dāhikārūpā prabhārūpā ca bhāskarē.
73. Śōbhārūpā ca candrē ca sā padmēṣu ca śōbhanā
sarvaśaktisvarūpā yā śrīkṛṣṇē paramātmani.
74. Yayā ca śaktimān ātmā yayā ca śaktimat jagat
yayā vinā jagat sarvam jīvan mṛtam iva sthitam.
75. Yā ca saṁsāravṛkṣasya bījarūpā sanātanī
sthitirūpā buddhirūpā phalarūpā ca Nārada.
76. Kṣut pipāsā dayārūpā nidrā tandrā kṣamā dhṛtiḥ
śāntilajjātuṣṭipuṣṭibhrāntikāntyādirūpiṇī.

[207] Compare *Dēvibhāgavata*, III, 3, 38—67:

38. Raktamālyāmbaradharā raktagandhānulēpanā
suraktanayanā kāntā vidyutkōṭisamaprabhā.

According to the puranic cosmological account, the Supreme Brahman, representing combined mind and force,

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39. Sucāruvadanā raktadantacchadavirājitā
ramākōṭyadhikā kāntyā sūryabimbanibhānanā.
40. Varapāśāṅkuśābhīṣṭadharā Śrībhuvanēśvarī
adṛṣṭapūrvā dṛṣṭā sā sundarī smitabhūṣaṇā.
41. Hrīṅkārajapaniṣṭhaistu pakṣibṛndair niṣēvitā
aruṇā karuṇāmūrtiḥ kumārī navayauvanā.
42. Sarvaśṛṅgāravēṣāḍhyā mandasmitamukhāmbujā
udyatpīnakucadvandvavanirjitāmbhōjakuṭmalā.
43. Nānāmaṇigaṇākīrṇabhūṣaṇair upaśōbhitā
kanakāṅgadakēyūrakirīṭaparišōbhitā.
44. Kanacchrīcakratāṭaṅkaviṭaṅkavadanāmbujā
hṛllēkhā bhuvanēśīti nāmajāpaparāyaṇaiḥ.
45. Sakhībṛndāis stutā nityam bhuvanēśi mahēśvarī
hṛllēkhādyābhir amarakanyābhiḥ parivēṣṭitā.
46. Anaṅgakusumādyābhir dēvibhiḥ parivēṣṭitā
dēvī ṣaṭkōṇamadhyasthā yantrarājōpariṣṭhitā.
47. Dṛṣṭvā tām vismitāḥ sarvē vayam tatra sthitābhavan
kēyam kāntā ca kinnāmā na jānīmō'tra saṁsthitāḥ.
48. Sahasranayanā rāmā sahasrakarasaṁyutā
sahasravadanā ramyā bhāti dūrād asaṁśayam.
49. Nāpsarā nāpi gandharvi nēyam dēvāṅganā kila
iti saṁśayam āpannāḥ tatra nārada saṁsthitāḥ.
50. Tadāsau bhagavān Viṣṇur dṛṣṭvā tām cāruhāsinīm
uvācāmbām svavijñānāt kṛtvā manasi niścayam.
51. Ēṣā bhagavatī dēvī sarvēṣām kāraṇam hi naḥ
mahāvidyā mahāmāyā pūrṇā prakṛtir avyayā
52. Durjñēyālpadhiyām dēvī yōgagamyā durāśayā
icchā parātmanaḥ kāmam nityānityasvarūpiṇi.
53. Durārādhyālpabhāgyaiśca dēvī viśvēśvarī śivā
vēdagarbhā viśālākṣī sarvēṣām ādir īśvarī.
54. Ēṣā saṁhṛtya sakalam viśvam krīḍati saṅkṣayē
liṅgāni sarvajīvānām svaśarīrē nivēśya ca.
55. Sarvabījamayā hyēṣā rājatē sāmpratam surau
vibhūtayaḥ sthitāḥ pārśvē paśyatam kōṭiśaḥ kramāt.
56. Divyābharaṇabhūṣāḍhyā divyagandhānulēpanāḥ
paricaryāparāḥ sarvāḥ paśyatam Brahmaśaṅkarau.
57. Dhanyā vayam mahābhāgāḥ kṛtakṛtyās sma sāmpratam
yadatra darśanam prāptam bhagavatyāḥ svayam tvidam.
58 Tapas taptam purā yatnāt tasyēdam phalam uttamam
anyathā darśanam kutra bhavēt asmākam ādarat.
59. Paśyanti puṇyapuñjā yē yē vadānyāḥ tapasvinaḥ
rāgiṇō naiva paśyanti dēvīm bhagavatīm śivām.

assumed for the sake of creation the shape of a woman on his left half and that of a man on his right half, remaining in this condition for a day of Brahman.[208] The perspiration

60. Mūlaprakṛtir ēvaiṣā sadā puruṣasaṅgatā
brahmāṇḍam darśayatyēṣā kṛtvā vai paramātmanē.
61. Draṣṭāsau dṛśyam akhilam brahmāṇḍam dēvatāḥ surau
tasyaiṣā kāraṇam sarvā māyā sarvēśvari śivā.
62. Kvāham vā kva surāḥ sarvē ramādyāḥ surayōṣitaḥ
lakṣāṁśēna tulām asyā na bhavāmaḥ kadācana.
63. Saiṣā varāṅganā nāma mayā dṛṣṭā mahārṇavē
bālabhāvē mahādēvī dōlayantīva mām mudā.
64. Śayānam vaṭapatrē ca paryaṅkē susthirē dṛḍhē
pādāṅguṣṭham karē kṛtvā nivēśya mukhapaṅkajē.
65. Lēlihantam ca krīḍantam anēkair bālacēṣṭitaiḥ
ramamāṇam kōmalāṅgam vaṭapatraputē sthitam.
66. Gāyantī dōlayantī ca bālabhāvān mayi sthitē
sēyam suniścitam jñānam jātam mē darśanād iva.
67. Kāmam nō jananī saiṣā śṛṇutam pravadāmyaham
anubhūtam mayā pūrvam pratyabhijñā samutthitā.

Compare with this the description of Prakṛti, *ibidem* IX, II, 28—34.

[208] See *Dēvībhāgavata*, IX, 1, 9:

Yōgēnātmā sṛṣṭividhau dvidhārūpō babhūva saḥ
pumāṁśca dakṣiṇārdhāṅgō vāmārdhā prakṛtiḥ smṛtā;

and *ibidem*, IX, 2, 26—28, 36—64 and 82:

26. Cicchaktirūpaḥ sraṣṭādau sisṛkṣannēka ēva ca
sṛṣṭyunmukhaḥ tadaṁśēna kālēna prēritaḥ prabhuḥ.
27. Svēcchāmayaḥ svēcchayā ca dvidhārūpō babhūva ha
strīrūpō vāmabhāgāṁśō dakṣiṇāṁśaḥ pumān smṛtaḥ.
28. Tām dadarśa mahākāmī kāmādhārām sanātanaḥ
atīva kamanīyām ca cārupaṅkajasannibhām.
36. Dṛṣṭvā tām tu tayā sārdham Rāṇēśō rāsamaṇḍalē
rāsōllāsē surasikō rāsakrīḍām cakāra ha.
37. Nānāprakāraśṛṅgāram śṛṅgārō mūrtimān iva
cakāra sukhasambhōgam yāvad vai Brahmaṇō dinam.
39. Gātratō yōṣitaḥ tasyāḥ suratāntē ca suvrata,
nissasāra śramajalam śrāntāyāḥ tējasā Harēḥ.
40. Mahākramaṇakliṣṭāyā niśvāsaśca babhūva ha
tadā vavrē śramajalam tat sarvam viśvagōlakam.
41. Sa ca niśvāsavāyuśca sarvādhārō babhūva ha
niśvāsavāyuḥ sarvēṣām jīvinām ca bhavēṣu ca.
42. Babhūva mūrtimadvāyōr vāmāṅgāt prāṇavallabhā
tatpatnī sā ca tatputrāḥ prāṇāḥ pañca ca jīvinām.
43. Prāṇō'pānaḥ samānaścōdānavyānau ca vāyavaḥ
babhūvur ēva tatputrāḥ adhaḥ prāṇāśca pañca ca.

which flowed from the body of Śakti (Prakṛti) formed the ball of the Universe, her sigh became the all-supporting breath of all beings. From the left side of the incarnated wind came

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44. Gharmatōyādhidēvaśca babhūva Varuṇō mahān
tadvāmāṅgācca tatpatnī Varuṇānī babhūva sā.
45. Atha sā Kṛṣṇacicchaktiḥ kṛṣṇagarbham dadhāra ha
śatamanvantaram yāvajjvalantī Brahmatējasā.
46. Kṛṣṇaprāṇā hi dēvī sā Kṛṣṇaprāṇādhikā priyā
Kṛṣṇasya saṅginī śaśvat Kṛṣṇavakṣasthalasthitā.
47. Śatamanvantarāntē ca kālē'tītē'pi sundarī
suṣāva ḍimbham svarṇābham viśvādhārālayam param.
48. Dṛṣṭvā ḍimbham ca sā dēvī hṛdayēna vyadūyata
utsasarja ca kōpēna brahmāṇḍagōlakē jalē.
49. Dṛṣṭvā Kṛṣṇaśca tattyāgam hāhākāram cakāra ha
śaśāpa dēvīm dēvēśaḥ takṣaṇam ca yathōcitam.
50. Yatō'patyam tvayā tyaktam kōpaśīlē ca niṣṭhurē
bhava tvam tvanapatyāpi cādyaprabhṛti niścayam.
51. Yā yāḥ tvadaṁśarūpāśca bhaviṣyanti surastriyaḥ
anapatyāśca tāḥ sarvāḥ tvatsamā nityayauvanāḥ.
52. Ētasminnantarē Dēvijihvāgrāt sahasā tataḥ
āvirbabhūva kanyaikā śuklavarṇā manōharā.
53. Śvētavastraparīdhānā vīṇāpustakadhāriṇī
ratnabhūṣaṇabhūṣāḍhyā sarvaśāstrādhidēvatā.
54. Atha kālāntarē sā ca dvidhārūpā babhūva ha
vāmārdhāṅgācca Kamalā dakṣiṇārdhācca Rādhikā.
55. Ētasminnantarē Kṛṣṇō dvidhārūpō babhūva saḥ
dakṣiṇārdhaśca dvibhujō vāmārdhaśca caturbhujaḥ.
56 Uvāca Vāṇīm Kṛṣṇaḥ tām tvam asya kāminī bhava
atraiva māninī Rādhā tava bhadram bhaviṣyati.
57. Ēvam Lakṣmīm ca pradadau tuṣṭō Nārāyaṇāya ca
sa jagāma ca Vaikuṇṭhē tābhyām sārdham jagatpatiḥ.
58. Anapatyē ca tē dvē ca jātē Rādhāṁśasambhavē
bhūtā Nārāyaṇāṅgācca pārṣadāś ca caturbhujāḥ.
59. Tējasā vayasā rūpaguṇābhyām ca samā Harēḥ
babhūvuḥ kamalāṅgācca dāsīkōṭyaśca tatsamāḥ.
60. Atha gōlōkanāthasya lōmnāṁ vivaratō munē
bhūtāścāsaṅkhyagōpāśca vayasā tējasā samāḥ.
61. Rūpēṇa ca guṇēnaiva balēna vikramēṇa ca
prāṇatulyapriyāḥ sarvē babhūvuḥ pārṣadā vibhōḥ.
62. Rādhāṅgalōmakūpēbhyō babhūvur gōpakanyakāḥ
Rādhātulyāśca tatsarvā Rādhādāsyaḥ priyaṁvadāḥ.
63. Ratnabhūṣaṇabhūṣāḍhyāś śaśvatsusthirayauvanāḥ
anapatyāśca tāḥ sarvāḥ puṁsaḥ śāpēna sautatam.

his wife dear as his life, and his sons, the five breaths of the living creatures. His sons became also the five inhaling breaths (*adhaḥprāṇa*). From her sweat proceeded the great Varuṇa, and from the left side of the latter his wife Varuṇānī. The Śakti of the mind of the Supreme Being was pregnant for a hundred manvantaras and then brought forth a child. In disgust she threw it into the water of the world, whereupon Kṛṣṇa became angry and cursed her that she should henceforth be childless; a curse which applied also to all her representatives. Immediately afterwards Sarasvatī appeared on the tip of her tongue, and after a while Śakti appeared in two forms, on the left half as Lakṣmī and on the right half as Rādhā. At the same time the Supreme Spirit manifested himself also in two forms, on the right side as two-armed (Brahman) and on the left side as four-armed (Nārāyaṇa), and he gave Sarasvatī to Brahman, and Rādhikā to Nārāyaṇa, who received also Lakṣmī. These two goddesses, who remained childless, accompanied him to Vaikuṇṭha. From the body of Nārāyaṇa sprang four-armed followers resembling Hari in splendour, age, form and qualities; and from that of Lakṣmī crores of female servants similar to her. Out of the pores of Rādhā's skin came shepherdesses like her, who were also childless. Then appeared the Supreme Śakti as Durgā, who received on her throne homage from all, while Brahman together with Sarasvatī arose from the navel of the Supreme God, who again appeared in two shapes, on the left half as Mahādēva, and on the right half as the lord of the shepherds.

The child of Śakti which, as previously stated, was

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64. Ētasminnantarē, vipra, sahasā Kṛṣṇadēvatā
āvirbabhūva Durgā sā Viṣṇumāyā sanātanī.

65—76. See pp. 438, 439, note 206.

82. Etasminnantarē Kṛṣṇō dvidhārūpō babhūva saḥ
vāmārdhāṅgō Mahādēvō dakṣiṇē Gōpikāpatiḥ.

thrown by Śakti in the water of the world, became the Mahāvirāṭ.[209]

According to the command of the Mūlaprakṛti the work of creation was performed in a fivefold manner, and Prakṛti appears in consequence in five aspects as Gaṇēśajananī Durgā, Rādhā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī.[210] These five chief representatives of Prakṛti are called the goddesses of learning or *vidyādēvīs*.[211]

Durgā was according to tradition first worshipped by Suratha.

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[209] See *Dēvībhāgavata*, IX, III, 1—4:

1. Atha ḍimbhō jalē tiṣṭhan yāvad vai Brahmaṇō vayaḥ
tatassa kālē sahasā dvidhābhūtō babhūva ha.
2. Tanmadhyē śiśur ēkaśca śatakōṭiraviprabhaḥ
kṣaṇam rōrūyamāṇaśca stanāndhaḥ pīḍitaḥ kṣudhā.
3. Pitrā mātrā parityaktō jalamadhyē nirāśrayaḥ
brahmāṇḍāsaṅkhyanāthō yō dadarśōrdhvam anāthavat.
4. Sthūlāt sthūlatamas sō'pi nāmnā dēvō Mahāvirāṭ
paramāṇur yathā sūkṣmāt parasthūlāt tathāpyasau.

[210] It is strange that instead of five in reality six names are given, and that of these six two are respectively the names of the consorts of the three gods forming the Trimūrti, Gaṇēśajananī and Durgā being the wives of Śiva, Rādhā and Lakṣmī of Viṣṇu, and Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī of Brahman.

[211] See *Dēvībhāgavata*, IX, 1, 1, 12, 13, 59:

1. Gaṇēśajananī Durgā Rādhā Lakṣmīḥ Sarasvatī
Sāvitrī ca sṛṣṭividhau prakṛtiḥ pañcadhā smṛtā.
12. Svēcchāmayaḥ svēcchayā ca śrīkṛṣṇasya sisṛkṣayā
sāvirbabhūva sahasā mūlaprakṛtir īśvarī.
13. Tadājñayā pañcavidhā sṛṣṭikarmavibhōdikā
atha bhaktānurōdhād vā bhaktānugrahavigrahā.
59. Paripūrṇatamāḥ pañca vidyādēvyaḥ prakīrtitaḥ
yā yāḥ pradhānāṁśarūpā varṇayāmi niśāmaya.

These Vidyādēvīs must be distinguished from the *Mahāvidyās*, which according to the Tantras are ten in number. These ten female incarnations of Śakti correspond according to the *Muṇḍamālā Tantra* with the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu as follows: *Dhūmavatī* with *Matsya*, *Bagalā* with *Kūrma*, *Bhairavī* with *Varāha*, *Chinnamastakā* with *Nṛsiṁha*, *Bhuvanēśvarī* with *Vāmana*, *Sundarī* with *Paraśurāma*, *Tārā* with *Rāma*, *Kālī* with *Kṛṣṇa*, *Kamalā* with *Buddha* and *Durgā* with *Kalki*. It is evident that this enumeration is of modern date and unreliable; in fact, other Tantras contain other names, and no importance can be attached to such lists.

From the *Saptaśatī* or the Caṇḍīpāṭha of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇa* we learn that Suratha was a king of the Caitra race, who lived in the time of the second Manu Svārōciṣa. After he had conquered the whole globe, he was attacked by some barbarian (*Kōla*) princes, who first deprived him of his conquests, and afterwards even of his own kingdom, which he left in order to find refuge in a forest. He met there a Vaiśya who had also lost all his property, and both went to a sage. Through his assistance, he became acquainted with the power and exploits of the great goddess Śakti. Suratha worshipped this supreme Goddess, and by her favour he regained on earth his kingdom and was reborn after his death as the eighth Manu Sāvarṇi.[212]

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[212] See *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa*, LXXVI, 3—11:

3. Sāvarṇiḥ sūryatanayō yō manuḥ kathyatē'ṣṭamaḥ,
nibōdha tadutpattim vistarād gadatō mama.
4. Mahāmāyānubhāvēna yathā manvantarādhipaḥ.
sa babhūva mahābhāgas Sāvarṇis tanayō ravēḥ.
5. Svārōcishōntarē pūrvaḥ caitravaṁśasamudbhavaḥ
Surathō nāma rājābhūt samastē kṣitimaṇḍalē.
6. Tasya pālayataḥ samyak prajāḥ putrān ivaurasān
babhūvuḥ śatravō bhūpāḥ kōlāvidhvaṁsinaḥ tathā.
7. Tasya tair abhavad yuddham atiprabalaśatrubhiḥ
nyūnair api sa tair yuddhē kōlāvidhvaṁsibhir jitaḥ.
8. Tatas svapuram āyātō nijadēśādhipō' bhavat
ākrāntaḥ sa mahābhāgas tais tadā prabalāribhiḥ.
9. Amātyair balibhir duṣṭair durbalasya durātmabhiḥ
svapuryām avamṛṣṭē tu svasutair ātmanaḥ padē.
10. Kōśō balam cāpahṛtam tatrāpi svapurē sthitaḥ
tanayaiśca mahāvīryais tvaripakṣabalānvitaiḥ.
11. Tatō mṛgavyavyājēna hṛtasvmyas sa bhūpatiḥ
ēkāki hayam āruhya jagāma gahanam vanam.

See further *ibidem*, LXXXVIII, 11—16:

11. Parituṣṭā jagaddhātrī pratyakṣam prāha Caṇḍikā;
Yat prārthyatē tvayā bhūpa tvayā ca kulanandana
12. Mattas tat prāpyatām sarvam parituṣṭā dadāmi vām,
tatō vavrē nṛpō rājyam avibhraṁśyanyajanmani.
13. Atraiva ca nijam rājyam hataśatrubalam balāt
sō'pi Vaiśyas tatō jñānam vavrē nirviṇṇamānasaḥ.

Rāmacandra, the destroyer of Rāvaṇa, revered her afterwards. She appeared first as Satī, the daughter of Dakṣa, and after defeating the Daityas and Dānavas, burnt herself at the sacrifice of her father, as was previously mentioned.[213] Reborn as a daughter of Himavat she obtained Paśupati as her husband, and her sons are Gaṇēśa and Skanda, the former being Kṛṣṇa, and the latter a portion of Viṣṇu.[214]

Lakṣmī was first worshipped by Maṅgalabhūpa, and afterwards in the three worlds by gods, sages and men.[215] Aśvapati revered Sāvitrī first, and his example was followed by the gods and sages.[216] Sarasvatī was first worshipped by Brahman, and then by gods and sages.[217]

Rādhā was first adored in the three worlds by Kṛṣṇa in

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14. Mamētyaham iti prājñas saṅgavicyutikāraṇam
svalpair ahōbhir nṛpatē svarājyam prāpsyatē bhavān.
15. Hatvā ripūn askhalitam tava tacca bhaviṣyati
mṛtaśca bhūyas samprāpya janma dēvād vivasvataḥ.
16. Sāvarṇikō manur nāma bhavān bhuvi bhaviṣyati.

[213] See above, p. 419. The 108 places where the parts of the corpse of Satī fell are called *pīṭhas*, among these are the best known in Bengal the Kālīghaṭṭa and Kāmākhyā Pīṭhas.

[214] See *Dēvībhāgavata*, IX, 1, 14—21, 145*b*—149*a*:
145*b*. Pūjitā Surathēnādau Durgā Durgārtināśinī
tataḥ Śrīrāmacandrēṇa Rāvaṇasya vadhārthinā.
146*b*. Tatpaścājjagatām mātā triṣu lōkēṣu pūjitā
jātādau Dakṣakanyā yā nihatya Daityadānavān.
147*b*. Tatō dēham parityjaya yajñē bhartuśca nindayā
jajñē Himavataḥ patnyām lēbhē Paśupatim patim.
148*b*. Gaṇēśaśca svayam Kṛṣṇaḥ Skandō Viṣṇukalōdbhavaḥ
babhūvatuḥ tau tanayau paścāt tasyāśca Nārada.

[215] See *Dēvībhāgavata*, IX, 1, śl. 22—38 and 149*b*:
Lakṣmīr Maṅgalabhūpēna prathamam paripūjitā
triṣu lōkēṣu tatpaścāt dēvatā muninānavaiḥ.

[216] See *ibidem*, śl. 38—43 and 150*b*:
Savitrī Āśvapatinā prathamam paripūjitā
tatpaścāt triṣu lōkēṣu dēvatāmunipuṅgavaiḥ.

[217] See *ibidem*, śl. 29—37 and 151*b*:
Ādau Sarasvatī dēvī Brahmaṇā paripūjitā
tatpaścāt triṣu lōkēṣu dēvatāmunipuṅgavaiḥ.

Gōlōka during the full moon of Kārttika, and afterwards by shepherds and shepherdesses, by boys and girls, by herds of cows, by Surabhi, and, at the command of Hari, by Brahman and the other gods, &c.[218]

Dēvī was, at the advice of Śaṅkara, first worshipped in the holy land of Bhārata by Suyajña, and afterwards at the command of the Supreme Spirit fervently adored by the sages in the three worlds with flowers, incense, &c. Like Rukmiṇī of old, a Hindu bride generally visits Dēvī's temple before her marriage.[219]

Next to the Vidyādēvīs, as representatives of Śakti, rank the Divine Mothers (*Mātṛs*; *Mātaraḥ*, or *Mātṛkāḥ*), who vary in number between 7, 8, 9 and 16. They are also called Nurses (*Dhātrīs*) and are considered to personate the Female Energies of the gods Brahman, Viṣṇu, Mahēśvara, Indra, Varāha, Narasiṁha, etc. They therefore bear the names of these gods; but are variously enumerated as Brāhmī, Māhēśvarī, Aindrī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṁhī, Kaumārī and Vaiṣṇavī, or as Gaurī, Brāhmaṇī, Raudrī, Vārāhī, Vaiṣṇavī, Śivā, Vāruṇī, Kaubērī, Nārasiṁhī and Vāsavī, or otherwise. The *Mātṛs* are arranged in three classes: *Antarmātṛs*, *Bāhyamātṛs* and *Saṁhāramātṛs*, or internal, external and contracting mothers.[220]

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[218] See *ibidem*, śl. 44—57, and 152*b*—155*a*:

152*b*. Prathamam pūjitā Rādhā gōlōkē rāsamaṇḍalē
pauraṇamāsyām kārttikasya Kṛṣṇēna paramātmanā.
153*b*. Gōpikābhiśca gōpaiśca bālikābhiśca bālakaiḥ
gavām gaṇaiḥ Surabhyā ca tatpaścāt ājñayā Harēḥ.
154*b*. Tadā Brahmādibhir dēvair munibhiḥ parayā mudā
puṣpadhūpādibhir bhaktyā pūjitā vanditā sadā.

[219] See *Śrībhāgavata*, X, 53, 50, and *Dēvībhāgavata*, IX, 1, śl. 156*b*—157*a*:

155*b*. Pṛthivyām prathamam Dēvī Suyajñēnaiva pūjitā
Śaṅkarēṇōpadiṣṭēna puṇyakṣētrē ca Bhāratē.
156*b*. Triṣu lōkēṣu tatpaścād ājñayā paramātmanaḥ
puṣpadhūpādibhir bhaktyā pūjitā munibhiḥ sadā.

[220] Compare *Vaijayantī*, p. 8, lines 128, 129:

Brāhmī Māhēśvarī Caindrī Vārāhī Nārasiṁhyapi
Kaumārī Vaiṣṇavī cēti tā ētāḥ sapta mātaraḥ.

In the power of Śakti, in fact, participate all women, goddesses as well as mortals. The difference between them depends on the portion of Śakti they possess, whether they have a full share, or a portion, or a sixteenth part of a portion, or a portion of such a portion.[221] A superior share (*pradhānāṁśa*) is possessed by Gaṅgā,[222] Tulasī,[223] Nāgēśvarī,[224] Dēvasēnā,[225] Maṅgalacaṇḍikā,[226] Kālī,[227] and

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The sixteen mothers are: Dēvasēnā, Gaurī, Mēdhā, Padmā, Śacī, Śānti, Sāvitrī, Svadhā, Svāhā, Vijayā, Jayā, Dhṛti, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi, Ātmadēvatā and Kuladēvatā.

See also *Dēvībhāgavata*, III, 6, 14.

[221] These variations are also distinguished as *pūrṇaśakti*, *aṁśarūpiṇī*, *kalārūpiṇī* and *kalāṁśarūpiṇī*.

See *ibidem*, IX, 1, 58, and 137*b*:

58. Aṁśarūpāḥ kalārūpāḥ kalāṁśāṁśāṁśasambhavāḥ
prakṛtēḥ prativiśvēṣu dēvyaśca sarvayōṣitaḥ.

137*b*. Kalāṁśāṁśasamudbhūtāḥ prativiśvēṣu yōṣitaḥ.

[222] See *ibidem*, IX, 1, 44—62.

[223] See *ibidem*, śl. 63—70.

[224] See *ibidem*, śl. 71—77:

71. Pradhānāṁśasvarūpā yā manasā Kaśyapātmajā
śaṅkarapriyaśiṣyā ca mahājñānaviśāradā.
72. Nāgēśvarasyānantasya bhaginī nāgapūjitā
nāgēśvarī nāgamātā sundarī nāgavāhinī.
73. Nāgēndragaṇasaṁyuktā nāgabhūṣaṇabhūṣitā
nāgēndravanditā siddhā yōginī nāgaśāyinī.
74. Viṣṇurūpā Viṣṇubhaktā Viṣṇupūjāparāyaṇā
tapassvarūpā tapasāṁ phaladātrī tapasvinī.
75. Divyaṁ trilakṣavarṣaṁ ca tapas taptvā ca yā Harēḥ
tapasvinīṣu pūjyā ca tapasviṣu ca Bhāratē.
76. Sarvamantrādhidēvī ca jvalantī Brahmatējasā
brahmasvarūpā paramā Brahmabhāvanatatparā.
77. Jaratkārumunēḥ patnī kṛṣṇāṁśasya pativratā
āstikasya munēr mātā pravarasya tapasvinām.

[225] See *ibidem*, śl. 78—83*a*:

78. Pradhānāṁśasvarūpā yā Dēvasēnā ca Nārada
Mātṛkāsu pūjyatamā sā Ṣaṣṭhī ca prakīrtitā.
79. Putrapautrādidātrī ca dhātrī trijagatām satī
ṣaṣṭhāṁśarūpā prakṛtēḥ tēna ṣaṣṭhī prakīrtitā.
80. Sthānē śiśūnām paramā vṛddharūpā ca yōginī
pūjā dvādaśamāsēṣu yasyā viśvēṣu santatam,

Vasundharā.[228] The wives of eminent personages are mostly endowed with a sixteenth portion of Śakti.[229]

The Grāmadēvatās, curiously enough, appear at the bottom of the long list of beings possessing a share of Śakti.[230] Considering that they are in reality the original

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81. Pūjā ca sūtikāgārē purā ṣaṣṭhadinē śiśōḥ
ēkē viṁśadinē caiva pūjā kalyāṇahētukī
82. Munibhir namitā caiṣā nityā kāmyāpyataḥ parā
mātṛkā ca dayārūpā śaśvadrakṣaṇakāriṇī.
83. Jalē sthalē cāntarikṣē śiśūnāṁ sadmagōcarē.

[226] See *ibidem*, śl. 83*b*– 87*a*.

[227] See *ibidem*, śl. 87*b*—93*a*.

[228] See *ibidem*, śl. 93*b*—96*a*.

[229] See *ibidem*, śl. 96*b*—136.

As such kalās of Śakti are named Svāhādēvī, wife of Agni; Dakśiṇā, wife of Yajñapati (Dakṣa); Svadhā, wife of the Pitṛs; Svastidēvī, wife of Vāyu; Puṣṭi, wife of Gaṇēśa; Tuṣṭi, wife of Ananta; Sampatti, wife of Īśāna; Dhṛti, wife of Kapila; Satī, wife of Satya; Dayā, wife of Mōha; Pratiṣṭhā, wife of Puṇya; Kīrti, wife of Sukarma; Kriyā, wife of Udyōga; Mithyā, wife of Adharma; Śānti and Lajjā, the two wives of Suśīla; Buddhi, Mēdhā and Smṛti, the three wives of Jñāna; Mūrti, wife of Dharma; Nidra wife of Kālāgnirudra; who stupefies into sleep all the worlds by her yōga; Sandhyā, Rātri and Divā, the three wives of Kāla; Kṣudh and Pipāsā, the two wives of Lōbha; Prabhā and Dāhikā, the two wives of Tējas, Mṛtyu and Jarā, the two wives of Prajvāra; Tandrā and Prīti, the daughters of Nidrā and wives of Sukha; Śraddhā and Bhakti, wives of Vairāgya; Aditi, mother of the gods; Surabhi, progenetrix of cows; Diti, mother of the Daityas; Kadrū, Vinatā and Danu; Rōhiṇī, wife of Candra; Saṁjñā, wife of Sūrya; Śatarūpā, wife of Manu; Śacī, wife of Indra; Tārā, wife of Bṛhaspati; Arundhatī, wife of Vasiṣṭha; Ahalyā, wife of Gautama; Anasūyā, wife of Atri; Dēvahūti, wife of Kardama; Prasūti, wife of Dakṣa; Mēnakā, mind-born daughter of the Pitṛs and mother of Ambikā; Lōpāmudrā; Kuntī, wife of Kubēra; Varuṇānī, Vindhyāvali, wife of Bali; Damayantī, Yaśōdā, Dēvakī, Gāndhārī, Draupadi, Śaibyā, Satyavatī, Sādhvī, wife of Vṛṣabhānu; Kulōdvahā, mother of Rādhā; Mandōdarī, Kausalyā, Subhadrā, Kauravī, Rēvatī, Satyabhāmā, Kālindī, Lakṣmaṇā, Jāmbavatī, Nāgnajitī, Mitravindā, Rukmiṇī, Sītā, Kālī; Yōjanagandhā, mother of Vyāsa; Uṣā, wife of Bāṇa; Citralēkhā, friend of Uṣā; Prabhāvatī, Bhānumatī; Rēṇukā, mother of Bhṛgu; Rōhiṇī, mother of Balarāma; Ēkanandā or Durgā, sister of Kṛṣṇa, etc.

[230] See *ibidem*, śl. 137*a* and 158*a*:

137*a*. Yā yāśca grāmadēvyaḥ syuḥ tāḥ sarvāḥ prakṛtēḥ kalāḥ, and
158*a*. Pūjitā grāmadēvyaśca grāmē ca nagarē munē.

representatives of the Female Energy or Śakti, the Divine Mother or *Amma* of the non-Aryan population of India, this may appear at first singular. However, the fact of their being mentioned at all in Sanskrit Purāṇas is a strong evidence of the honoured position they occupied among the people, a position so important that it could not be ignored by the Brāhmans, who found it even to their spiritual and worldly advantage to include in their Pantheon not only the principle they represent, but also occasionally these, in their opinion, lower deities.

Having thus tried to show the non-Aryan origin of Śiva as Bhūtēśa and Girīśa, or Lord of Ghosts and of Mountains, and the identity of the worship of Dēvī and Śakti with the aboriginal *Amma*-cult, I shall now discuss the subject of the non-Aryan deities, as represented by the Grāmadēvatās and Aiyanār.

CHAPTER XIX.

On Grāmadēvatās, Aiyanār and Bhūtas.

General Remarks.

The *Grāmadēvatā* represents the principal national deity of the non-Aryan population of India.[231] With this female deity is intimately connected the well-known *Aiyanār* or

[231] The *Āgamasmṛtisāra* contains a ślōka which assigns the Grāmadēvatās to the Śūdras:

Brāhmaṇānām Śivō dēvaḥ, Kṣatriyāṇām tu Mādhavaḥ.
Vaiśyānām tu bhavēd Brahmā, Śūdrāṇām Grāmadēvatāḥ.

Śiva is the god of the Brāhmans, Mādhava of the Kṣatriyas, Brahman of the Vaiśyas, and the Grāmadēvatās of the Śūdras. The commentator explains this as follows: *Śiva* as the fire and the Vēda, *Mādhava* as religion and sacrifice, *Brahman* representing the Brāhmans, and the *Grāmadēvatās* as described by Parāśara are respectively revered by the four castes (Śivō'gnir vēdaśca, Mādhavō dharmō yajñaśca, Brahmā tu Brāhmaṇa ēva, Grāmadēvatāḥ Parāśarōktāś cāturvarṇyēna yathākramam arcyantē).

Śāsta, the chief of the ghosts and evil spirits. As he prevents these demons or Bhūtas from doing harm to men, he acts like a Bhūtēśa, Bhūtarāja or Bhūtanātha, in the same manner as does Śiva, with whom he is as such identical. The Grāmadēvatās are revered throughout the length and breadth of India, not only by the rudest aborigines, but also by the highest castes. There exists no hamlet, village, or town which does not possess a shrine dedicated to a Grāmadēvatā, that she may by her power preserve her devotees from diseases, plagues, and other calamities. I have previously drawn attention to the fact, that the Pariahs, the despised representatives of the oldest Gauda-Dravidian stock in India, are often connected with the proudest Brahmanic temples sacred to Śiva and Viṣṇu. The privileges these outcasts still enjoy seem to prove that they possessed originally proprietary rights over these sites, which perhaps even belonged to Pariah idols before the lands were taken from them and devoted to rival deities.[232] Neither can it be denied that the worship of the aborigines has secured access into Brahmanism, with the result that not only did the Kṣētradēvatās enter into the Brahmanic liturgy, but also that superstitious Brāhmans still sacrifice at the shrines of the popular deities of the lower orders.

The word *Grāmadēvatā* signifies deity of the village or town, and as India contains a large number of such villages and towns, there exists also an immense multitude of these deities, which vary in name and appearance, and whose legendary history depends on the special locality over which they preside. In consequence it is contended that the Grāmadēvatās owe their existence to the influence of time and actions, that they are framed according to judgment and are revered in the various districts under

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[232] *Śāsta* and *Śāstṛ* are the two Sanskrit forms of this name of Aiyanār. About the *Pariahs* see *above*, pp. 50—56.

their special vernacular names.[233] Nevertheless, however much the several tutelar deities may seem to differ outwardly, they are in reality all alike, in so far as they must be considered as the manifestation of the Gauda-Dravidian belief in the power of the Female Energy, represented by the productivity of the Earth. To this worship of the Mother Earth must be ascribed all the shrines that are dedicated to her local representatives. The original object of this veneration was probably a rude shapeless stone growing out of the earth and not fixed there by the hands of men; with preference a stone which in its outward appearance resembled a human head, such as we find still frequently worshipped in the northern Telugu country, and which is generally found on the outskirts of villages. Special images came afterwards into use, in order to distinguish the several divinities which were adored by the people. That all these various local deities represent one and the same principle, becomes apparent from the fact, that one and the same name *Amma*, mother, is given to each singly, personating, as it were, the supreme power of Nature (*prakṛti*) or of Energy (*śakti*). The identity of the word *Amma* with *Umā* in Sanskrit has been proved above.[234]

The Gauda-Dravidians revered the Earth as the powerful being, on which all that is or lives in or on it depends, and which in consequence exercises an unlimited influence for good or evil over all earthly creatures and objects. The Earth was to be propitiated by valuable sacrifices in order to yield the necessities of life, and nothing was deemed too precious that could gain her favour. In consequence not only offerings of grain, honey and flowers were made to her, but also cocks, goats, pigs, buffaloes and even men

[233] See *Dēśiyāmala*:
Kūlakarmavaśājjātāḥ kalpitā buddhiyōgataḥ
svadēśabhāṣāṇāmādyair arcyantē grāmadēvatāḥ.

[234] See p. 421.

were immolated at her shrine. The Meriahs, whom the Khonds sacrificed until lately to the great goddess of the Earth, are an example of the prevalence of such human sacrifices.[235] In fact the native mind is still so familiar with the idea of immolating human beings that a human head, or as its substitute a cocoanut, is required for the decoration of the shed (maṇṭapa) in which the Grāmadēvatā is placed.[236] The Todas in the Nīlagiris offer to this day milk and blood sacrifices to the Mother Earth. The former are intended to obtain from her good grass and good buffaloe-milk, and at the New-year milk is for this purpose poured on the ground. The bloody sacrifice takes place at the dry *Kēḍu*, when buffaloes are killed and their blood is spilt to satisfy the goddess, who will reward her adherents with a rich harvest. The buffaloes take now the place of human beings, but the tradition still survives among the Todas that in former times they sacrificed men to the Bhūmidēvī, though they have managed to keep it secret. With respect to the Todas, whose real name is, as I have proved, *Kodas*, and who belong to the Gaudian Khonds, this information is very important, as it settles for good all doubts as to their nationality, for the worship of the Earth and of the Grāmadēvatās proves them to be Gauda-Dravidians.[237]

The aborigines of this country seem likewise to have revered, and some mountain-tribes who have not come into contact with Brāhmans or other civilised Hindus do still revere, an invisible Supreme Spirit, of whom they form no special image, but whom they generally adore in the

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[235] See pp. 153, 154.

[236] See *Grāmadēvatāpratiṣṭhā*: "mānavīyēna śirasā tatpratinidhin nārikēlaphalēna... alaṅkṛtē maṇṭapē," compare p. 461, note 247.

[237] See above, pp. 190–192. I obtained the information about the original object of the Kēḍu, the funeral ceremony serving as a pretext for the barbarous massacre of cattle, from respectable Todas of five different Mands.

shape of a stone. An instance of this worship is Gurunātha.[238] It is incorrect to connect this stone-worship with the Liṅga-worship, with which it has nothing in common.

This Supreme Spirit who protects men in their trouble and guards them from evil spirits is adored as the kind father Ayya, and is known in South-India as Aiyanār. Mother Earth and the Great Father, as represented by the Grāmadēvatā and Aiyanār, are the central figures of the Gauda-Dravidian pantheon. Both have fallen from their throne, and lead a degraded existence. Just as the Vedic deities became Asuras in the Brahmanic creed, and the gods and goddesses of the Edda were transformed into Devils and Witches, so also do the Grāmadēvatās and Aiyanār occupy the position of fallen angels. They differ, however, from other fallen angels, in that their influence is not malignant. Their real object is to protect human beings from all kinds of calamities, and especially from the mischievous machinations of the evil Spirits, with whom the Universe is peopled according to the opinion of the Aborigines. And here it is worth mentioning that in spite of the Gauda-Dravidian populace occupying an inferior and dependent position, it has exercised a considerable influence on the Brahmanic element. It has forced its way gradually into the very heart of the Aryan worship, which eventually, by amalgamating with Gauda-Dravidian doctrines, underwent a thorough change, so that the purity of its system disappeared, and a new belief, the Brahmanic religion of our day, was substituted in its stead, a belief which partly rests on non-Aryan ideas. We even find Brāhmans openly participating in the unhallowed proceedings at the festivals of the village-goddesses, and defending their behaviour with the statement, that every act of a Brāhman is connected with

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[238] See p. 200.

Brahman, and that in consequence he can not do wrong whatever he may do.[239]

If, however, the pure Vedic doctrine has been altered by the influx of non-Aryan tenets, so also have the latter undergone a change by coming in contact with Aryan ideas, and not only have males intruded into the once exclusively female circle of Grāmadēvatās, but also a motley of queer figures have crept in, forming indeed a very strange gathering. The *Grāmadēvatāpratiṣṭhā* mentions as Grāmadēvatās the skull of Brahman, the head of Viṣṇu, the skull of Rēṇukā, the figure of Draupadī, the body of Sītā, the harassing followers of Śiva (the Pramathas), the attendants of Viṣṇu (Pāriṣadas), demons, Yōginīs, various kinds of Śaktis made of wood, stone and clay; persons who were unsuccessful in their devotional practice, Śunaśśēpha, Triśaṅku, Ghaṭōtkaca and others; Dēvakī's daughter, multiform Durgās and Śaktis; Pūtanā and others who kill children; Bhūtas, Prētas, and Piśācas; Kūśmāṇḍa, Śākinī, Ḍākinī, Vētālas and others, Yakṣas, Kirātadēvī, Śabarī, Rudra, 100 krores of forms of Rudra; Mātaṅgī, Śyāmalā, unclean Gaṇapati, unclean Cāṇḍālī, the goddess of the liquor pot (Surābhāṇḍēśvarī), Mōhinī, Rākṣasī, Tripurā, Laṅkhinī, Śaubhadēvī, Sāmudrikā, Vanadurgā, Jaladurgā, Agnidurgā, suicides, culprits, faithful wives, the Goddesses of matter, Goddesses of qualities and Goddesses of deeds, etc.[240]

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[239] See *Dēvīyāmala*: "Tāsām arcanam ca brāhmaṇā apī śaṁsantītyēkē. Sarvam khalvidam brahma tajjalāniti śānta upāsītētyādi śrutivacanair brāhmaṇasya sarvam brahmamayam bhavatīti nirdiṣṭam. Ētad vai kāminām uktam apakāminām na kiñcana." (Some Brāhmans also revere them (the grāmadēvatās). The whole world is Brahman, who creates, destroys and protects. One should, free from passion, meditate on him, this is a Vedic precept. Everything connected with a Brāhman is identified with Brahman, and in consequence there is no fault in it. So say those Brāhmans who desire something, but not those who do not desire.)

[240] See *Grāmadēvatāpratiṣṭhā*: Tatra (āyatanē) dēvatā Brahmaṇaḥ kapālam Viṣṇōśśirō Rēṇukāmastakam Draupadīmūrtis Sītātanuḥ Prama-

The Hindu exoterics, especially those who belong to the modern schools, have their peculiar ideas about the con-

thāḥ śaivā Vaiṣṇavāḥ pārisadā grahā yōginyaḥ śaktayō nānāvidhā dāruśilāmṛṇmayā jātā bhraṣṭā yē ca yāgatō na siddhiṁ gatāḥ Śunaśśēphas Triśaṅkur Ghaṭōtkacacśa ityādyā Dēvakīgarbhōtthā bahurūpiṇī Durgā ca Śaktiḥ Pūtanādyā bālaghātinyō Bhūtaprētapiśācāśca Kūśmāṇḍa Śākinī Ḍākinī Vētālādyā Yakṣāḥ Kirātadēvī Śabarī, Rudraśca Śatakōṭirūpāṇi Randrāṇi Mātaṅgī Śyāmalōochiṣṭaganapatir Ucchiṣṭacāṇḍalī Surābhāṇḍēśvarī Mōhinī Rākṣasī Tripurā Laṅkhinī Saubhadēvī Sāmudrikā Vanadurgā Jaladurgā Agnidurgā ātmahantāraḥ śikṣitāḥ pativratāśca dravyadēvyō guṇadēvyaḥ kriyādēvya ityādyā grāmadēvatās samavāyēna pūjyantē.

According to Bōpadēva the following are the Grāmadēvatās :

1. Śivaśaktiḥ Suvarṇāmbā Hanumān Pāṭalī tathā
   Durvāsaputrī Muktāmbā Raiṇukaścāṇimā tathā.
2. Vīrāmbā Mārikā Gaṅgā Phalagaurī ca Nagnikā
   Arkikā Vīrabhadraśca Vīraś Śvapatir ēva ca.
3. Bhillaḥ Kirātaḥ Siddhaśca Draupadī cāgrajā tatha
   Sarvāmbā cāryanāthaśca Bhavānī Siddhapūruṣaḥ.
4. Randrī Rudrā Mahārāṣṭrī Mānikā Rudrasaṅghikā
   Mūkāmbā Vallavās sarvē kṛṣṇabhaktāśca Yādavāḥ.
5. Lakṣmīs Tārā Brahmarakṣas Tṛṇāmbā Phullalōcanā
   Dharma Īśō Guruścaiva Śārabhaḥ Khaḍgarāvaṇaḥ.
6. Saṅgamēśī Mahādēvī Rudrāṇī Caṇḍikēśvaraḥ
   Vināyakaścaikamātā cintyēśī Varaṇā tathā.
7. Valmīkinī ca Bhērunḍā Durgāmbā cārgalāmbikā
   Jyōtir Mahēśō Yōgī ca Yōginī Bagalā tathā,
8. Śukahastā Śṛṅkhalikā Mayūrī Siṁhavāhanī
   Vāruṇī Śaṣkulī Kṛtyā Rākṣasī Candraśōkharā.
9. Nirguṇḍikārkavṛkṣasthā Prasthā Paryaṅkavāsinī
   Añjanā Bhūśca Nīryāsas Taṭākēśyōṣadhīśvarī.
10. Vyāghrēśī ca Dhanuṣkōṭis Tulākōṭis tathēndirā
    Upalā Nāgarūpā ca Jaṭī Śāstā ca Bhairavaḥ.
11. Ṛśyaśṛṅgō Jāmadagnyaḥ Pārṣadaś Śakunaś Śamī
    Dṛṣadvān Kīṭanāthā ca Mahāmaṇḍā ca Kuṇḍikā.
12. Śrēṇikā cāṇikhēlā ca Kūśmāṇḍaśca Vināyakaḥ
    Masūrikāhiphēnā ca Tulasī Paśuvatsapā.
13. Rētassirā Mahāviṣṇuḥ Kāñcyāṁ siddhēna pūjitaḥ
    Prātītikas Tamālaśca Gaṅgābhṛcca Dukūlikā.
14. Nīlaśca Mihirasvāmī Sphōṭāmbā ca Munīśvaraḥ
    Cālinī Śūrpikā caiva Grahayūthapayūthapā.
15. Ḍākinī Yakṣarūpā ca Markaṭōlūkhalātmikā
    Hayvaṅgavīnā Musalī Kumārī Bāṇarūpiṇī.
16. Jalamūrtiścāgnimūrtiś Cakravātādrināyikā
    Laṅkini Pūtanētyādyāḥ pūjyantē grāmadēvatāḥ.

nexion of the Grāmadēvatā and the Earth. They uphold that the Lord Īśvara, beyond whom they admit the existence of the highest unmanifested Spirit, the Parabrahman, has seven forms or aspects, which manifest themselves in seven planes. The highest aspect of Īśvara is exhibited in the Ṛgvēda, another in Buddha, the seventh appears in the Grāmadēvatā on the surface of the Earth. In each sphere the leading spirit is attended by hosts of subservient gods and ghosts, differing from each other according to the condition of these planes, which, though differing in elevation, stand to each other in a co-ordinate position. On a level with the Grāmadēvatās are elsewhere the so-called fairies and gnomes. These spirits can be easily evoked, and are therefore objects of popular worship. In their lower types they often display a cruel disposition and delight in bloody sacrifices, but their ruder constitution does not necessarily indicate a bad disposition.

On the Grāmadēvatās.

The Grāmadēvatā is the personation of the Female Energy as represented by Mother Earth, and as such the principal deity of the Turanian race. As the Grāmadēvatā is the tutelary deity of every place in India, it is impossible to give a complete list of them, nor is it even necessary to do so, considering that, though differing in name, qualifications and other points, they are by their nature identical with each other, as representatives of one and the same power, *i.e.*, of Śakti.[241] Some Grāmadēvatās are connected only with their special locality, while others, as Kālī and Māriyamma, though retaining their local supremacy, in consequence of the peculiar powers they possess, are encountered all over the country. As their name *Amma* or

[241] This idea is also expressed in the *Dēvīyāmala* in the ślōka:
Indrāṇīpramukhā dēvyas sarvadēvāṁśasambhavāḥ.
Śaktayas tatra pūjyantē nānārūpēṇa kalau yugē.

Ambā, mother, implies, they are, wherever they reside, revered as the protecting mothers. They are not identical with the *Mātaras* of later Sanskrit mythology, though there exists without doubt a connexion between them, and it is probable that the conception of the Mātaras is due to Gauda-Dravidian influence. For a closer inquiry into this subject discloses the fact, that Aryan legends have been thus inseparably blended with non-Aryan, so that it is often difficult to keep the two currents asunder, and to discover the original source.

That the worship of the Grāmadēvatās is very popular, is not only proved by the great number of their shrines, but also by the fact, that though their most faithful devotees form on the whole the poorest class of the population, their temples are often endowed with sufficient land to cover the expenses incurred for their maintenance. Every villager, man or woman, takes a personal interest in his Grāmadēvatā, her temple is daily visited, and the shady tree on its premises forms the favorite meeting place of the community.[242]

The temple of the Grāmadēvatā stands either within or outside the village. Vaiṣṇava people worship the goddess in the centre of the hamlet, Śāktas do so outside it, Kāpālikas on the burning ground, Gāṇapatas at the house-door or at the house-pillar, and others with the exception of the merchants revere her in the bazaar-street. All, however, can adore her near a waterside, in a forest, or in stone-, wooden-, or clay-temples.[243] According to the *Smṛtipurāṇasamuccaya*, Grāmadēvatās are found in the

[242] See *Dēvīyāmalu*: Grāmīṇō grāmarakṣāṁ thī pūjayēd grāmadēvatāḥ.

[243] See *Grāmadēvatāpratiṣṭhā*: "Atha grāmīṇāḥ svēṣām samaṣṭikṣēmāya svasthānīyē grāmād bahir vā grāmaśaktim pratiṣṭhāpya pūjayēyuḥ, Vaiṣṇavā grāmamadhyē Śāktā bahiḥ Kāpālikāś śmaśānē Gāṇapatā dvāradēśē stambhadēśē vā anyē tvantarā vaṇijaḥ paṇyavithyām sarvē jalanikaṭē vanē vā pāṣāṇadārumṛṇmayayatanēṣvarcayēyuḥ.

hamlets of low-caste people, in the abodes of savages and in the villages of peasants, in the tents of the Ābhīras, in the station of hunters, in the flocks of outcasts and in bazaars, among the Śūdras and cultivators, in capitals, towns, villages and sub-villages, in carpenters' shops, on the roads, in the houses of village servants, in the abodes of vilōmas, as well as in the huts of Pulkasas and in the houses of weavers.[244]

The idol is almost daily decorated with saffron powder and red kuṅkuma, and what remains of it, after the idol has been ornamented, is distributed among those present. The sacrificer (who is generally called *Pūjāri*, or *Bhōpi* in the North, or *Vīrāvēśin* when possessed of the demon), and even the members of his family are supposed to be in possession of powerful charms, capable of bewitching, as well as of driving away evil spirits. The chucklers also often claim to have an exclusive knowledge of such spells. The Grāmadēvatā is as much a living part and parcel of the village, as are the Karṇam, Talaiyāri, Tōṭi and other village officials. These deities are, as I have already pointed out, the tutelary gods, and each villager expects his own divinity to preserve his village from evil spirits. They, it is believed, try to injure the crops as well as men and beasts, and to harm the village community in various other ways. The goddess is therefore venerated like a benevolent mother. If a villager is affected with any illness, her assistance is invoked, her favour is entreated by all kinds

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[244] See *Smṛtipurāṇasamuccaya*:

1. Pallīpakkaṇakhēṭāṇām ābhīraśibirasya ca
   Kirātapallikāyāśca pūgaśrēṇīvaṇikpathām.
2. Śūdrāṇām karṣakāṇām ca nagaryāḥ pattanasya ca
   grāmasya cōpagrāmasya tvaṣṭrāvāsasya paddhatēḥ.
3. Grāmacaṇḍālavāṭyāśca vilōmāvāsakasya ca
   Tathā pulkasavāṭyāśca kuvindāvāsakasya ca.
4. Dēvyō yāś cābhimāninyaḥ kathyantē grāmadēvatāḥ.

Vilōmas are the same as pratilōmas.

of sacrifices, and additional votive promises are made, should such offerings prove successful. If the patient recovers, his recovery is ascribed to the power and benevolence of the Grāmadēvatā, and to the influence and efficiency of the Pūjāri. The promised vow is religiously kept, whether it takes the shape of a present, as a bell or a silver figure of the goddess, or of an act to be performed by the recovered patient, *e.g.*, to walk round the idol in a dress of margosa leaves.

At the worship of the Grāmadēvatā are used the leaves, flowers, resin and milky juice of the holy and of the red Oleander, of the white Calatropis gigantea, of the black Datura, the China rose, the Nimb tree, Euphorbia antiquorum and of other plants. When an animal, a black goat, or any other goat or a buffaloe, is to be sacrificed, the Pūjāri walks from the right side round the firepit, binds the beast on the flagstaff to the east of the temple, and the sacrificer possessed of the demon (*vīrāvēśin*), after pouring saffron water on the victim, waits until it indicates the consent of the deity by shaking its body and then kills it with a sword, with one stroke, otherwise it is regarded as unpropitious. This done, he cuts off its foot, and places it into its mouth. On its head is arranged an oil lamp, which is lighted with a new cloth wick. The Pariahs dance and play on musical instruments in honor of the Grāmadēvatā, while the more respectable and high-caste villagers who attend the festival, place the *prasāda*, *i.e.*, flowers, leaves, flour, etc., on their heads.[245]

Oblations consisting of liquor, meat, grain and lights are

[245] See (*Grāmadēvatāpratiṣṭhā*: Dēvakaravīraraktakaravīraśvētārkanīlōnmattajapāpicumandasnuhyādipatrapuṣpaniryāsakṣīrādyair arcayitvāgnikuṇḍasya prādakṣiṇyēna prācyām agārasya dhvajastambhē paśum sannahya kṛṣṇachāgam bastam mahiṣam vā vīrāvēśī khaḍgēnōtkṛtya tasya pādam tanmukhē saṅkīlya tacchirasi dēvatābhimukham tailaśarāvam sthāpya nūtanē vāsasā dīpam prajvālya vādyaghōṣēṇa mahānṛttēna caṇḍālā grāmiṇā anyē ca darśanaprasādamātram śirasā vahanti.

presented to the deities, and special festivals celebrated in their honor.[246] The sacrificer begins with placing the figure of the dēvatā in the Maṇṭapa. This is decorated with flesh, palm-toddy, honey, liquor, ghee and milk, with a human scull or with a cocoanut as its substitute, and with cocks and other beasts as substitutes for living animals. The idol is then adorned and propitiated with rice mixed with blood, and other gifts. Some devotees cut off their limbs and present them to the idol.[247]

In the Telugu country this *Vīrāvēśin* is called *Pōturāja*, who occupies in the household of Ellamma the post of a herald. His services are, however, not monopolised by this goddess. This name is derived from *pōtu*, a male animal, especially a male buffaloe (*mahiṣa*), and Pōturāju or Pōtarāju is in Kanarese called Potappa or *Kōṇarāya*.[248] He is considered to be the son of a Pariah, and in consequence called *Caṇḍālaputra*, and, as *Pōtula rāju*, is the king of buffaloes. He is personated by a Mādiga who kills the sacrificial goat, by strangling it with his teeth and tearing open its throat. It may be here remembered with respect to the buffaloe that this animal serves as the vehicle of Yama.

Bloody sacrifices are required at most feasts, and every marriage or other important event is commenced with the immolation of fowls or sheep.

A general subscription is raised in a village every year or two in order to arrange for a festival or *yātrā* for propitiating the goddess. A suitably decorated pot is for this purpose carried round the village, as a rule by the Pūjāri,

[246] See *ibidem*: Śīdhumāṁsabalibhiḥ dīpair utsavaiśca . . arcyatē.

[247] See *ibidem*: Pratiṣṭhāyām ādau dīkṣitaḥ piśitēna parisrutā ca madhunā madyēna ghṛtēna kṣīrēṇa ca mānavīyēna śirasā tatpratinidhinā nārikēlaphalēna prāṇipratinidhibhiḥ kukkuṭādibhir alaṅkṛtē maṇṭapē pratimām alaṅkṛtya lōhitānnādibalibhir ārādhya kēcid upāsakāḥ svasvāṅgāni chittvā prayacchanti. Nātrōdbandhanam, nainam apakurvanti sāhasō vā ētad vīrāṇām kalau pratyakṣībhavati phalam pratyakṣībhavati phalam, ētad ēva kalau Śūdrāṇām ucitam ityāha bhagavān Parāśaraḥ.

[248] See above, pp. 97, 469.

and every cottager contributes his share in kind or in coin. A great heap of cooked rice, afterwards distributed especially among the village servants, is placed before the goddess; and the beasts are slaughtered before her image. A Veṭṭiyān or Talaiyāri carrying a pot full of rice deeply saturated with blood goes every day, generally about midnight, so long as the feast lasts, along the backyards of the houses of the village, and throws a handful of this rice in the four corners of every street, in such a manner that he may not be seen by any person; for whoever sees him is sure to be afflicted by the devils, whose favours are to be gained by the offerings contained in this pot. This is done to secure the village against attacks of evil spirits. At the end of the festival the pot is taken to a particular spot on the boundary line of the village, where the offerings are thrown up in the air to be received by the devils, and after this ceremony, the pot is broken on the same spot. This pot is known in Tamil as the *Ellai-caṭṭi*, boundary pot. Moreover, on the last day of the festival the metal image of the goddess is carried round the outskirts of seven neighbouring villages, in order that the Grāmadēvatās of those villages be kept from visiting and molesting the place. If the Grāmadēvatā is propitiated, the village will be free from small-pox, cattle-disease, famine and tree-disease, fire will not burn down the houses, nor will the river overflow its banks, nobody will die a sudden death, nor will poisonous snakes, scorpions and other obnoxious animals do harm, nor will animals with claws or fangs, nor worms, bears, tigers or lions do injury: general security prevails in the country, and the people are prosperous.[249]

[249] See *Grāmadēvatōpratiṣṭhā*: Prasannā yadā grāmadēvatā tasmin mārikārōgapaśurōgadurbhikṣavṛkṣarōgādayaḥ śāmyanti, nāgnir gēhāni pradahēnna nadījalam āplāvayēt, amṛtyur nāśayati naiva, sarpavṛścikādayō viṣavīryā na bādhantē, nakhinō daṁṣṭriṇaścāraṇyakāḥ kīṭabhallūkavyāghrasiṁhādayō na hiṁsanti, yōgakṣēmaḥ kalpatē rāṣṭrē ca prajākṣēmō bhavatīti vijñāyatē.

If in spite of all precautions, an evil-disposed spirit should nevertheless haunt the village, so that the crops are destroyed by blight, or fires burn down the houses, or epidemics rage and decimate the population, the favour of that spirit must be secured, and his anger appeased by a great expiatory feast during which an immense number of animals are killed. At this celebration the entire population congregates outside the village, and a pot (*karakam*) representing the enraged deity is with great honor carried into the centre of the village, and there deposited. After a lapse of three days it is with like ceremonies carried back to the borders of the village. Fresh sacrifices are then offered, and, when the above mentioned pot has been there broken to pieces, the spell is pronounced to be removed from the afflicted village.[250]

As a proof of the former supremacy of the Grāmadēvatās among the deities of this country, should be quoted the generally accepted tradition that they once enjoyed the highest bliss, but incurred by their pride the curse of the Supreme Spirit, who condemned them to roam over the world and to protect there mankind from the machinations of the demons, who were subjected to their sway. Out of gratitude for this protection, men established yearly festivals to every one of them. At the end of the world they will, however, be freed from the curse, and regain their former pre-eminence.[251]

What the Grāmadēvatā is to the village, the *Kuladēvatā* is to the family. This deity is likewise of Gauda-Dravidian origin, though now largely worshipped by Brāhmans, especially in the Maratha country, but also elsewhere, *e.g.*,

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[250] Inspector-General of Police, *Colonel Porteous*, has kindly placed at my disposal a *Memo on the Village-goddess in India*, and I am indebted to it for some valuable information which it contained.

[251] This opinion is expressed in a letter written by a Native of India to the *Rev. B. Ziegenbalg* on pp. 146, 147.

in Mysore, where the Brāhmans of Beṭṭadapuram revere Aṅgāramma as their Kuladēvatā. In fact, if anybody sees her or any other Grāmadēvatā with his own eyes, he must devote himself and his whole family to the service of that deity who henceforth becomes the family deity or Kuladēvatā.

Connected with the worship of the Kuladēvatā is that of the *Iṣṭadēvatā*, the chosen or tutelary deity of the house. Among the Brāhmans the Iṣṭadēvatā is that god of the Pañcāyatana,[252] which is placed in the centre. The Pañcāyatana itself is restricted to the higher castes, but even the lowest orders worship household gods represented by very small figures of the Grāmadēvatās, made either of stone or of wood.

I shall now give some particulars about a few of the more important village deities, beginning with those whose worship, in consequence of their wider sphere of influence, is spread over larger areas, and who have been more specially distinguished by the name of the nine Śaktis or Navaśaktis. These are Ellamma, Māriyamma, Aṅkālamma, Piḍāri, Bhadrakāli, Durgā, Cāmuṇḍā, and Pūrṇā (Pūraṇai) and Puṣkalā (Puṭkalai), the two wives of Aiyanār. Some of these names are Sanskrit or partly Sanskrit, replacing perhaps other older names of purely Gauda-Dravidian origin.

1. *Ellamma.* ♀

Ellamma, Ellammai, or *Ellamuttammai,* from *ella* all, and *amma* mother, *the mother of all,* in Sanskrit called *Sarvāmbā* (under which name she is, *e.g.*, worshipped at Basāpaṭṭaṇam), is, especially in the Telugu country, revered as the Ādiśakti. All castes from the Brāhmans downwards adore this Grāmadēvatā. She, so the legend says, has neither father,

[252] See *above*, p. 389.

mother, nor husband, and was born from out of the earth. The Mālas, who claim to be descended from the sage Ādijambuvu, contend that Ellamma was created by his mantras, and that she attained her maturity nine hours after her birth, looking like a girl of twelve years. She then went to Ādijambuvu desiring him to be her husband, but he refused, giving her, however, a Sañjīva root with the instruction to plant it on the Mātaṅgagiri, and to present there offerings to him. This done, he predicted that a cock would in time arise from the root of the plant, Ellamma become a hen and lay three eggs. One of these eggs would fall into the Nāgalōka and give birth to Ādiśēṣa, another would turn bad and, falling into the city of the king Bali, would become a Brahmarākṣasī, but on the third Ellamma would sit, and Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva would be born from it. After the creation of these three gods Ellamma would again become a woman.[253] And as he had prophesied, so it happened.

[253] I owe this story to the *Rev. W. Howard Campbell*, M.A., of the L.M.S., who has written to me as follows about Ellamma: "Ellamma is the Ādiśakti, without father or mother or husband, born out of the earth, a virgin. Before her was Ādijambuvu, a great muni, who was born six months before the Kaliyugam. (The Madigas claim to be his descendants.) He by his mantras caused Ellamma to be born out of the earth. Nine hours after she was born, she attained to maturity and was like a twelve years' old girl. Putting on grand clothes and gold ornaments she went to Ādijambuvu and greeted him 'Trimitramangalam (త్రిమిత్రమంగలము, author of the Shastras who made Ganga speak and helped Rama in the Kritayugam), O grandfather.' He looked at her and said 'What is it, o Ādiśakti?' She replied 'I have searched all hills and plains and secret places and have found no husband who will satisfy my youthful desires.' He said 'No gods are yet born with the Kaliyugam, so there is none to satisfy your desire.' She replied 'I have come to have intercourse with you.' 'That,' he said, 'cannot be.' 'Who then is there' she asked, 'to satisfy my desires?' He replied 'I give you a Sanjiva root, take it to Matangagiri hill, plant it there, and with offerings worship me. From this root will spring up a cock, and on its appearance you will become a hen. You will lay three eggs. Of these one will fall down into the Nāgalōkam, and from it will come forth Ādisheshan. One will go bad, and will fall into Balimaharāja's city. The

According to another legend, especially current in the Tamil country, Ellamma was the revived Rēṇukā, who had originally been the chaste wife of Jamadagni, and the mother of his five sons. One day she saw Citraratha, king of Mṛttikāvatī, sport with his queen, and became jealous of their happiness. Her husband perceived that Rēṇukā had lost her chastity, and ordered his sons to kill her. The elder four refused to do so, but the youngest, Paraśurāma, consented. Rēṇukā, on hearing of this, fled for protection to a neighbouring village inhabited by Pariahs. Her son pursued and found her there, and after killing all the Pariahs, cut off the head of his mother, which he brought to his father. Jamadagni, as recompense for such obedience, granted his son the favour of asking a boon, who thereupon requested his father to allow him to restore his mother to life. Jamadagni consented, and Paraśurāma went with the head of his mother to the place where he had killed

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Brahmarakshasi will be born from it. On one you will sit, and from it Brahma, Vishnu and Siva will come forth. On their birth, you will again become a woman.' It happened as the sage said, and on becoming a woman, Ellamma turning to the Trimurtulu asked them to satisfy her desire. They replied 'Mother we came from your womb, how can we do this?' She answered 'I am not your mother, but only your grandmother, as you were born from an egg, so you need not hesitate.' They fled from her in fear from place to place, and at length rushed into the presence of Ādijambuvu to tell him, who they were, and why they had fled from the Ādiśakti. He turned to Śiva and said 'It is you she seeks and not the others. When she presses you to comply with her wishes promise to do so on the condition that she gives you her third eye. She will agree to give you her eye, and with it I shall take away her strength, so that her robe will become a burden to her.' Śiva did according to these directions, and the Ādikśakti's strength and vigour disappeared. He asked if she still wished him to comply with her request, and she replied that her robe had become a burden to her. The Trimurtulu left her, and after receiving instruction from Adijambuvu, she returned to Matangagiri hill. Nine hours later the Kaliyuga began and the people came in multitudes to worship her.

Some other stories about her are besides in the mouths of the people."

his mother. He put her head on the trunk of one of th beheaded women, and thus revived it, but he mistook th corpse of a Pariah woman for that of his mother, and th head of Rēṇukā was in this manner put on a wrong body This is the popular tale about the origin of Ellamma.

Another legend contends that Paraśurāma put by mistak the head of a Pariah woman on the body of Rēṇukā, and that in consequence Jamadagni did not recognize as his wife the thus revived person, who was allowed to be worshipped by the Pariahs, while Rēṇukā's head was called Ammachār. In the Tulu country, Kālī goes by the name of Ellamma, and it is a peculiar coincidence that Paraśurāma is in most Kālī temples worshipped in a special shrine. There existed therefore an old tradition which associated this fierce enemy of the Kṣatriyas with the aborigines of India; but it is as yet unsafe to propose an explanation of the legend which ought, however, to be remembered and not overlooked.[254]

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[254] See Dr. Wilhelm Germann's edition of the *Genealogie der Malabarischen Götter* von Bartholomæus Ziegenbalg, pp. 157—159.

The following different version of the story of Rēṇukā was given to me by a Native as follows: "Rēṇukā, the mother of Paraśurāma, was by virtue of her chastity in the habit of making a vessel of sands and of bringing water from a river in such a vessel. One day, as usual, she went to the river, and when bathing she saw in the water the shadow of a Gandharva passing in the sky. Perceiving the shadow to be beautiful, she thought in her heart that the real Gandharva must be extremely beautiful. From that instant her virtue left her, and she was unable to weave a vessel out of sands. (According to the story related by *Ziegenbalg* she could through her chastity draw the water out of the Kāvērī in the form of balls and roll them to her husband, who performed his sacrifices with this water.) She returned home in sorrow. Her husband knew it all, and asked his sons to slay Rēṇukā. The youngest, Paraśurāma, consented and pursued her into the quarter where Chandālas lived and slew her there. Then leaving the corpse on the ground, Paraśurāma went to Jamadagni, related that he had carried out the sage's orders, and asked a boon that Rēṇukā may be brought back to life. Jamadagni gave some sanctified water which had the power to revive dead bodies. Before Paraśurāma went to the Chandālas' quarter, some Chandālas removed Rēṇukā's head and left a Chandāla woman's head near the trunk of Rēṇukā. Paraśurāma taking this head and

Ellamma is represented in a sitting posture with reddish kin and very fiery face. She wears on her head a crown vith serpents lying over it; for the natives declare, that nany serpents dwell in her pagodas, and that people who ee serpents, invoke her aid, drive them away so that they lo no harm. She wears on her forehead three white lines of cowdung-ashes, but is otherwise adorned like the other goddesses. She has four hands. In her raised right hand she carries a drum (*ḍamaru*) round which a serpent is entwined, and in the other a trident; in her uplifted left hand she carries a noose, and in her bent left hand the skull of the torn-off head of Brahman. This skull is said to attract all the blood of men and beasts that is shed in the world, and yet cannot get full. As much blood is spilt at the sacrifices of the Grāmadēvatās, they generally carry in their hands the skull of Brahman. A metal image of Ellamma stands in her pagodas and is carried about at the festivals. The principal image before which sacrifices are made in the shrines, is hewn out of stone, and fashioned in such a manner, that only the head above is visible, while the body stands concealed in the earth, in commemoration of the fact that only her head was revived and placed on the trunk of another woman.[255] I have referred already to the stone images of the Grāmadēvatās which are shaped like a head, and given an explanation more generally applicable.[256]

Shrines of Ellamma are found everywhere, though they

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trunk as belonging to his mother, sprinkled water on them. The head and trunk united, and the renovated creature flew at Paraśurāma and pursued him to Jamadagni's residence. Jamadagni not recognising the creature as his wife, the latter demanded of the former, what she should do. She was allowed to live among Chandālas and be worshipped by them all over the Earth."

The dēvatā with the trunk is Ellamma, and the head alone (being purely Brahmanic) is called Ammachār.

[255] See *Ziegenbalg*, p. 159.

[256] See p. 452.

are only small in some places.[257] Such temples contain, besides the image of Ellamma, generally those of *Jamadagni*, Rēṇuka's husband; *Paraśurāma*, Rēṇukā's son; *Pōturāja*,[258] her herald; *Mallujeṭṭi*,[259] her (wrestler) champion; *Vighnēśvara*, Śiva's son; *Bhadra-Kālī*, *Mātaṅgī*, the Pariah woman on whose trunk the head of Rēṇukā was placed; and the Angels of Life (in Tamil *Uyirttūṇḍilkārar*), who catch in a net the souls of those who have suddenly died a violent death. These after they have been conveyed to Ellamma, who had suffered a similar fate, will in their turn undertake the office of soul-catchers.[260] There are also found in her temples, images of serpents. The priest or *Pūjāri* of such shrines is a Paṇḍāram. Once a week at least, on every Friday, sacrifices are with certain mantras offered to her. She is invoked for help by those who are threatened by poisonous snakes. Fishermen pray to her when they cannot catch any fish, or are in danger on the sea: others do the same, when they are in a perilous position. In her honour is every year celebrated a festival which lasts about eight days, during which her image is carried about.[261] Pigs, bucks and cocks are decapitated before the door of her temple; the priests retain the heads of these animals, while their owners eat the remainder. Some cook the meat of these animals and deposit some slices on leaves to Pōturāju, and to the Uyirttūṇḍilkārar. They also bring a great

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[257] *E.g.* at Tēnāmpēṭṭai.

[258] *Pōturāju* (Pōtarāju), from *pōtu* (పోతు) a male animal, especially a male buffaloe); *C. P. Brown* makes him out to be the husband of the Grāmadēvatā. (See p. 461.)

[259] From *mallu* (మల్లు) and *jeṭṭi* (జెట్టి) wrestler.

[260] See *Ziegenbalg*, p. 159.

[261] The *Rev. W. H. Campbell* of Kadapa has written to me about the worship of Ellamma as follows: "This goddess is worshipped by people of all castes. Ceremonies in her honour are performed by dobeys (చాకలి), toddy-pollers (ఈడిగ) and chucklers (మాదిగ). Her temples, which are numerous

quantity of cooked rice, which belongs partly to the priests, and partly to the workmen who carry the figures. Many vows are fulfilled on such days, one of which is the notorious hook-swinging when iron hooks are stuck in the back behind the shoulders of the persons who have promised to swing in the air on a pole. This hook-swinging is,

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in this district, are built at a little distance from the villages in the vicinity of the Sudra houses. They should be overshadowed by a margosa tree. There is, as a rule, in each a stone-image representing a woman with three eyes, in the shrine (మూలస్థానము), and near this a small image made of the five metals. In the verandah there is a small palanquin in which this smaller image is carried at festivals. People of all castes, Brahmans included, make offerings to the goddess of cocoanuts, incense, and not unfrequently offer sheep. It is an Idiga man who acts as pujari in presenting the usual offering, and who when an offering of food (భోజనము) is presented, places a portion before the idol, and returns the remainder to the offerers. When a sheep is presented it is a dobey who sacrifices it. After he has cut off the head, he places it on the pandal in front of the temple, and those who have presented it, take away the carcase. The Madiga people who are present or rather those of the Mādigas who are set apart for the purpose, the Bainēnivāndlu (బైనేనివాండ్లు), play upon the instruments and recite tales of the goddess, while offerings are being presented. A festival is held once a year at each temple. It lasts for three days. On the first day 24 seers of cholam are boiled, poured in a heap in front of the temple, and decorated with flowers and turmeric. A buffalo is brought forward, the Bainēnis (Madigas) tie margosa branches to its neck and drive it three times round the temple. Then they ask the village magistrate, if the sacrifice be performed. On his assenting a dobey comes forward and cuts off the buffalo's head. The Bainēnis rip up the belly, tie the intestines round their arms, mix rice with the dung and march round the temple throwing this into the air and crying out: *Kōbali rathabali* (కోబలి రథబలి). They then prostrate themselves in front of the temple. The reddi (village magistrate) and Karnam come forward, cover them as they lie with a new cloth, and present betel to them. On this all rise to go off to their midday meal. In the evening all assemble again at the temple. A mixture of five seers of milk, five seers of jaghari and twenty-five seers of rice is cooked and placed in the temple. Then the Bainēnis come forward and, after playing some music, tell a story of the goddess. On the second day, at dawn, a square (కుసుము) is drawn with coloured powder in front of the temple, and on it are placed camphor, betel, limes, toddy and arrack. The goddess is said to be specially fond of liquor. A male goat and a fema[illegible]

however, not confined to Ellamma, but also performed at the festivals of other Grāmadēvatās.[262]

2. *Māriyamma.* ಶ್ರೀ

Māriyamma is the name of another Grāmadēvatā.[263] She is regarded also as one of the nine Śaktis, in fact by some worshippers she is considered to be the chief Śakti and goes thus by the name of Parāśakti. She is of high repute, and among her names occur those of Ammai, Āyi, Tāy, Pōlēramma, Peddamma or Periyammai.[264] To her applies

sheep are brought and placed near the square. The dobey priest sacrifices the sheep in the usual way, and after he has done so, the Bainēnis come forward after they have bowed before the shrine. One of them performs the gāvu (గావు) by seizing the goat by the neck and strangling it with his teeth. When he has done his, her sits down in real or feigned excitement, and eats 1¼ seers of rice, ¼ of a seer of curd, and ¼ of a seer of ghee. This concludes the morning ceremonies. At night the idegas (toddy-sellers) or bēstas (fishermen) place the small image in the palanquin and take it to the river. It remains there till dawn, and the Bainēnis spend the time in repeating their stories. At dawn of the third day they take the image back to the temple. There are no further ceremonies, but from midday till evening the Bainēnis tell their stories."

[262] *E.g.*, at those of Māriyamma (*see* pp. 480-484) and Aṅgālamma. Compare also *Ziegenbalg*, p. 160.

[263] The name *Māriyamma* is generally derived from the Sanskrit word *Māri*, pestilence, plague, and *amma*, mother; its meaning is therefore *mother of pestilence*; Māri corresponds to the Sanskrit Mārikā.

[264] Among her many names the most common are: Ādi, Ādiśivadēvī, Alamēlumaṅgai, Ammaṇi, Ārādhārapporuḷ, Āyi, Āyiraṅkaṇṇuḍaiyāḷ (who has thousand eyes), Ārimuttuvāḷiyammai, Bhūdēvī, Draupadī, Dhurandhari, Īśvarī, Kaccipadiyāḷ, Kāḍukāḷ or Kāḍukāḷammai (mother of the burning place, or of forests), Kāmākṣi, Kapālī, Karaṇasaundarī, Karaṇi, Kiḷiyēndunāyaki, Koddi, Mādā, Mādaraśi, Mahāmāyī, Mahārāśi, Maṅgai, Maṅgalavinōdī, Maṅgamāriyammai, Manōmaṇi, Maṇimantraśēkharī (chief of poison stones and spells), Māri, Mārikā, Mārimuttu, Māritāy, Māriyāttā, Mātaṅgi, Māyi, Muttumāriyammai, Mutyālamma, Nāgakanyā, Nallamuttu (good pearls), Nelliyakalliyāṇi, Nīli, Parañjōdi (supreme light), Padināyiraṅkaṇṇuḍaiyāḷ (having 10,000 eyes), Pūjakkuratti (revered by Korava women), Śamayapurattāḷ), Śaṅkarī, Śakkaccivandavaḷ, Śitaḷā, (Śitalādēvī), Ūrkākuṅkāli, Vācaki (pleased by sounds), Vaḍugi (Vaḍugantāy), mother of Vaḍugan or Bhairava, Vallidēvānai, Vallānmaikkāri, Vallavi, Yakkalādēvi or Yakkamma patroness of the Arkaplant, *see* p. 496), etc. See about

the legend which I give below, and which has much resemblance to the story told about Ellamma.[265] In fact the

Māriyamma and her names the small Tamil poem *Māriyamman tālāttu*, lullaby of Māriyammai.

[265] I am indebted to the *Rev. Mr. W. H. Campbell* also for this legend about Peddamma, see pp. 469—477.

"Before aught came into existence, hills or fields or trees or plants, all was a waste of water. In the midst of this one ocean was suspended the great world-light. This light meditating all things within itself, thought to itself that the Kaliyugam must be brought forth, and men and cattle and all things created. Thus meditating, it took the form of a woman, and formed in the midst of the waters an island on which to rest. In this island she formed a garden, and in the garden a well. By the well she planted a mangrove tree and caused an ant-hill to arise near the tree. Day by day she went into the garden, bathed in the well, ate of the fruit of the garden and adorned herself with its flowers. One day, while she was thus adorned, passion entered her heart, and the thought arose "Had I a man, it would be well." As she passed into the garden giving utterance to this wish, a jessamine bough bent over towards her. Plucking a flower from it she said "This will be my husband," and taking it to the well placed it in the cup of a lotus flower which floated on the surface of water. Having done this she assumed the form of a bird, a roller (*Coracias Indica*), and settled upon the lotus, brooding over the jessamine flower which she had placed in it. In time she became pregnant by the flower and laid three eggs in the lotus. She gathered these under her with her bill and brooded over them. In 72 days one egg, which was three-faced, opened. The lower shell became the earth with the all-circling sea surrounding it. The upper became the heavens, the white of the egg became the stars, the yolk the sun and moon. From the black speck in the egg, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva were born. Of the other two eggs, from one which was covered with 72 hairs, the Raksbasas were born. As soon as they were born they rushed off to the western sea. The last egg became addled. The goddess seeing this, and knowing that from it would come all manners of disease to man and beast, placed it aside in concealment. After Brahma, Vishnu and Siva had been born, she reared them carefully up to their 12th year and then gave them each an aerial chariot and a trident, taught them the Om mantram, and bade them build for themselves three cities. As she looked on them, she lusted after them, and dressing herself in beautiful garments and adorning herself with all kinds of jewels, she went up to Brahma and asked him to satisfy her desire. He replied "You are my mother, how can I?" and shut his ears. She said 'It is not so.' I'll tell you how it is; the egg is my child; you are born from it, so I am your grandmother and you my grandson. Do as I wish." He replied "I cannot, go to Siva." She went to Siva, and he gave her a similar answer. At last she flew

variously named Grāmadēvatās are in principle identical, and this is also the reason why they have so many names in common.

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to Vishnu in a rage and addressed herself to him. He saw her wrath and was afraid and said "I consent to your proposal, but this is not a suitable time, come at midday tomorrow." She went back to her garden rejoicing, and next day at noon returned decked with jewels and garlands. She found the three in one place and asked Vishnu to fulfil his promise. He said "I will, but you must first swear to give me three things I ask for." She made an oath, and he asked her for the fairest of her 1,000 eggs, the ornament of her forehead, and a certain weapon. She gave the eye and Vishnu gave it to Siva who placed it in his forehead, and thus became three-eyed. She gave the forehead ornament and weapon, and when she had given all, suddenly her strength and vigour disappeared and she became as an old woman of 100 years. She lost all memory of her desire, and saw the world and all things clearly. Then she said 'The demons are increasing, I go to slay them. Remain you here as guardians of this well and garden and send me daily jessamine flowers.' Thus saying she went to the western sea and began to slay the demons. She slew multitudes, but as she slew them their blood fell upon the earth, and as it fell, millions of demons sprung up from it out of the earth. Then she bethought herself how she might slay them, and at last assumed her divine form, and put out her tongue. Her tongue extended for 120 miles upon the earth, and she began again to slay the demons causing their blood to fall upon her tongue instead of upon the earth. In this way she slew them all. But a little blood had fallen to the earth without her noticing it, and from this Dundubhi, the buffaloe demon, was born. He, in fear of the goddess, plunged into the sea and swam over to Sugriva's mountain, and lived there for some time, daily increasing in strength. At length unable to resist the attacks of Vali and Sugriva he left the mountain and made his way to the garden of the goddess, and began to defile her well and destroy the garden. Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, who were guardians of the place, saw the harm that had been done, and on looking for the cause of it, found the demon lying upon a bank. They asked him who had destroyed the garden, and he said "It was I." "Who are you?" they questioned. "I am Vishvamitra's son; my name is Dundubhi Rakshasa," he said. Thereupon he challenged them to fight, and they attacked him with their tridents; but strike as they would they could inflict no wounds on him. He taunted them with their inability, and they owning that they could do no more, challenged him to attack them. He breathed on them and they, with their cloud chariots, were carried away in the storm. Then he stamped with his foot, and the earth trembled so that their chariots were shaken to pieces. In terror they rushed off to the goddess and told her of the

Māriyamma ranks as a sister of Viṣṇu and of Kṛṣṇa, and is thus known as Māyāsahōdarī, Nāraṇanārtaṅgai, Śeṅkaṇṇantaṅgai and Gōpālantaṅgai. In the Śamayapurattāḷ temple near Śrīraṅgam, the Grāmadēvatā Māriyamma is supposed to be a sister of Raṅganātha, and all the collections which are made in that temple, are credited to the account of Raṅganātha.

Māriyamma is revered all over India, but in the South especially at Kaṇṇanūr (Kṛṣṇa's town) and Śamayapuram

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encounter. She at once armed herself and set off to encounter the demon, with weapons in each of her seven hands. She found him lying by the wayside and struck at him with all her weapons, but her blow had no effect. Then she invited him to attack her, but he, saying 'How can I attack a woman,' simply breathed and she was carried away by his breath when he stamped his foot, and the earth trembled so that she was thrown into the air. She fled in terror and he, lowering his horns, rushed after her. As she fled she cast some drops of sweat on the ground, and from these sprung up an ant-hill with 3 horns which rose half way to the heavens. She at once assumed the form of an ichneumon and rushed into the ant-hill. The demon not seeing her rushed upon the ant-hill and trampled it into pieces. As he dashed past, however, it sprung up again as before. For 14 days he continued his contest with the ant-hill and in this time Peddamma reached the Nagaloka, made friends with the Siddhas and turned back leading 90 millions of them to do battle with the demon. As the Siddhas marched up to the upper world, they chanted incantations, and, such was the force of these incantations, that, before they emerged from the ground, the demon fell down and died. When they came out of the ant-hill they saw the demon lying dead, and cut off its head in triumph. They placed the head before the goddess with one of the forelegs in the mouth, put the fat from the belly on the head, and above all set a lamp fed with the melted fat of the demon. After doing this, they procured a large quantity of rice and strong drink, cut up and cooked the body and had a great feast.

At Peddamma's festival, an earthen image of the goddess is made. This is dressed and adorned with jewels and placed in a small booth made by people of the washer-caste. Food and arrack are placed in front of this and the history of the goddess is related by the Āsādhi people (Malas). The Malas bring forward the buffaloe to be sacrificed, a dobey slays it, the Madigas cut up the carcase, the Malas take the head and place it in front of the image and light a lamp and place it upon it. After the ceremonies are over, the image is taken to the boundary of the village and thrown away."

in Trichinopoly; in Koraṅginiyamman-kōvil in Tinnevelli; in Tādikōmbu, Vaṭalaguṇḍu, Cōḻavandān, Vīrapāṇḍi and Periyakulam in Madura; in the town of Tanjore and in the famous Māriyamman-kōvil in its neighbourhood; in Kōliyanūr and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in South Arcot; and in Periyapālayam and Kāñci in Chingleput; and in other places.[266] She was expelled from heaven, so goes the legend, on account of her haughtiness, and she is also more feared for causing in her anger plagues and other calamities, than beloved for removing them, and for protecting men from the attack of demons; though she will kill the devils when a person remembers her while the demons oppress him.

The special disease with which she is connected, is small-pox, and she is therefore called Mārimuttu, Muttumāriyamma, Mutyālamma, Nallamuttu, Śītalādēvi, etc. Those who die of small-pox are admitted to her company. In consequence of the prevalence of this and other diseases, Māriyamma is much in request, and yearly festivals in her honour take place everywhere.[267] To her is sacred the 7th day of the light fortnight (*śuklapakṣa*) of Śrāvaṇa, which is called Śītalāsaptamī.

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[266] The Māriyamman-tālāṭṭu quotes the following places as celebrated for their worship of Māriyammai: Kaṇṇanūr, Kaṇṇapuram, Vijayanagaram, Ayōdhyā, Piccāṇḍisannidhi, Kañjagiri, Indranagaram, Tulukkāṇam, Malayālam, Samayapuram, Virāṭapuram, Kaḍumpāḍi, Uttaṅkāḍu, Paḍavīḍu, Periyapālayam, Āraṇi, Virāmapaṭṭaṇam, Kōliyanūr, Tillavanam, Kāśi, Śivalanāḍu, Kollimalai, Madurai, Kacci (Kāñcīpuri), Aruṇācalam, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Anaigundi, Malayanūr, etc.

[267] See *On some Festivals to Village Goddesses*, by Mr. *Fr. Fawcett*, Superintendent of Police in Bellary, Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II, pp. 164-264, who describes the festival of Māriyamma in the village Hoshalli as follows: "Her image, cut out of Margosa-wood, is carried from temple to a stone called a Baddukal, in the centre of the village, on the afternoon of the first day. A rounded stone, about 6 inches above the ground and about 8 inches across, is to be seen just inside the gate of every village. It is what is called the *Baddukal* or navel stone, it is worshipped in times of calamity, especially during periods of cattle disease; often, women passing it with water pour a little on it, and every

It appears that the ceremonial varies at the different temples of Māriyamma, some only allowing bloodless

one on first going out of the village in the morning is supposed to give it some little tribute of attention. It is considered to be as a sentinel to prevent mischief entering the village .... There she is worshipped on her litter, over which is made a little booth of Margosa leaves .... The following day all men and women of Sudra castes substitute garments of leaves of the Margosa (little branches tied together) for their ordinary clothes, and thus attired go with music to the goddess, who has been left out all night by the Baddukal), carrying offerings of milk and curds called *Mīsalu*. The pujari drinks the offered *Mīsalu*. A buffalo bull, devoted to the goddess since the last feast, and not worked in the *interim*, is then dragged through the village streets, by ropes tied to its legs and body (for it is generally savage), and brought to the goddess with shouts. There is no music. It is beheaded before the goddess by a Madiga man, and the head is placed on the ground near the goddess with the right foreleg, which is also cut off, in the mouth. People then accomplish vows by sacrifices of sheep, which are afterwards eaten by the Madigas. About 60 seers of rice are boiled, and the blood of the buffalo mixed with the rice is thrown round outside the village. This occupies the people until midnight. On the third day a gaily decorated cow is brought to the goddess and she is placed on it and wheeled in procession to a certain place outside the village and left there. In the evening the villagers congregate to listen to some special music played by musicians of a neighbouring village. On the fourth day a little booth of Margosa leaves is erected on the ground near the Baddukal, and in it is placed a brass plate containing ashes, red powder used for feminine adornment, bangles of earthen ware, and a gold necklace, as symbols to represent the goddess for the time being. The people congregate there, and a man whose patronymic is Pōturāz, brings a small black ram to the goddess. The ram is provided by general subscription raised for the festival, and Pōturāz bathes before he brings it to the goddess. Standing in front of the goddess he holds the ram in his arms, and seizing its throat with his teeth bites the animal until he kills it. He tears the ram's bleeding flesh *with his teeth* and holds it in his mouth to the goddess. The body of the ram is then buried beside the booth, and Pōturāz is bathed by the headmen of the village, who put a new turban on his head and give him a new cloth. The people retire after this, and on the following day return to the goddess in the car outside the village, and bring her to the little booth and place her inside it, with the brass plate, which is not removed. She is left there a while, and the people take their evening food, after which she is carried on a litter in procession, with music, to her temple. On the following day gram and other grains are offered to the goddess; and on the seventh and last day arrangement is made for a buffalo for the next festival. If no one offers to give one, there is a general subscription to provide one."

oblations to be offered within their precincts; others, and this is by far the greater number, requiring animal sacrifices. In some shrines of the latter class the custom of hook-swinging prevails, *i.e.*, of men being suspended in the air fastened to a pole by hooks stuck in their backs. To the first category belong among others the Kaṇṇanūr temple in Trichinopoly, the Māriyamma-temple in the Town of Tanjore and the Periyakulam temple in Madura. It must not, however, be understood, that because no animals are killed within the limits of the temple, therefore no blood is shed at these Māriyamma festivals; far from it, for the worshippers of Māriyamma delight in the taste of meat, and the animals are killed at home before the domestic idol, instead of being slaughtered by the Pūjāri at the temple. At Koraṅgini in Tinnevelli, in Tādikōmbu in Madura, in Śamayapuram in Trichinopoly, in the big Māriyammankōvil near Tanjore and in Kōliyanūr in South Arcot, animal sacrifices prevail, while at Vaṭalaguṇḍu, Cōḻavandān and Virapāṇḍi in Madura, and elsewhere hook-swinging is still practised. In Periyapālayam near Madras sheep-swinging has of late years been substituted for man-swinging, and at Valpanūr goat-swinging is introduced at the festival of Aṅkālamma.

Of late also fire-treading, an ancient custom peculiar to the Draupadi-worship of the Pallis, has been introduced into the Māriyamma worship. (See note 91 on pp. 98, 99.)

A stout three-forked Margosa-branch is at the beginning of the festival fixed in the middle of the altar, and during the following fortnight watered every morning by young and old, especially by girls and women. The whole population, in order to appear clean before the goddess, submit in the mornings to thorough ablutions in the neighbouring rivers, tanks and wells. The temple courtyards present at the time a curious spectacle, as the boys of the place, fulfilling the vows which their mothers, or they themselves have made, roll themselves over the ground, while girls and

women, who have just returned from their bath, run in their wet clothes after them, describing with their fore-fingers circles on the ground. Other people measure the ground with their bodies, standing alternately on their legs or on their heads; others walk on one leg; others proceed alternately standing and sitting down; some have laid aside their usual dress and walk about covered from head to feet only with thick layers of Margosa leaves.

On the evening of the fourteenth day before the commencement of the real festival, the females begin to prepare in their houses the festive meals with a generous admixture of meat, especially of fowls and sheep. About seven at night the sacred portion of the house is consecrated and daubed all over with cowdung water. Red stripes are also drawn along its borders with a preparation of water-colour, and in the centre are made with liquid rice flour drawings of various flowers and creepers. The matrons of the household put in the same place two or three pots filled with *Pālikai*, (from the Sanskrit *Pālikā*), *i.e.*, twelve days old shoots of the nine sorts of grain, *navadhānya*,[268] which have been anxiously kept from light, so that they may retain their brownish colour, and the leaves of this Pālikai are also covered with Kuṅkuma and Sandal-powder. Dishes filled with rich food are placed in front of these pots, and the youngsters of the house greet them with the verse:

Kaḍalai ciṟupayaṟu kārāmaṇi payaṟu
Śeṅgamalamaṉcciyārukku ciṟupayaṟu pōḍuṅgaḍi.

Put to the Red-lotus-Lady (Māriyamma) Bengal gram, small pulse, lentils, pulse, and another kind of small pulse.

A ripe cocoanut is then broken, myrrh and frankincense are offered to the *Pālikai* which represents the Goddess, and the *prasāda* is indiscriminately distributed among the members of the household.

[268] These nine grains are called in Tamil: Nellu, Uḷundu, Perumpayar, Kaḍalai, Moccai, Avarai, Tuvarai, Kōrāmaṇi and Ciṟupayar.

At three in the afternoon pious worshippers cover their bodies with lime (*śuṇṇam*) and the juice of pulse (*avarai*), perforate their body near the waist on both sides with a needle, pass a thin thread through each hole and bind the two threads together in front. A person then takes hold of the knot, and dragging the other man by the threads after him, both move on dancing through the streets. Others carry either small bulls or a thousand lights made of clay on their heads. Plantains and live-chickens are thrown from the temple walls and upstair-houses among the crowd, who tear these poor birds to pieces, each person trying to obtain a head, a wing, a leg, or a feather, or some other portion of the bird. Cocoanuts are thrown and broken on the threshold of the temple; and great excitement prevails throughout.

The temple is illuminated at night by wicks of cotton-fibre burning in brass lamps, and girls and women carry to the temple offerings of flowers, cocoanuts, plantains, camphor, rice-flour mixed with water and shaped into a conical jelly. On the top of this jelly they dig a small hollow about an inch deep, fill it with ghee, put a cotton wick into it, and light it. When the Pūjāri has broken the cocoanut, camphor is burnt, and everyone touches the flame with the palms of his hands and apply them, thus hot, to the eyes. The people prostrate themselves before the idol, receive from the Pūjāri sacred ashes of cowdung and offer to the temples gifts of eyes (in Tamil called *kaṇmalar*, eye-flower), hands, legs and breast plates, made usually of silver, but sometimes also of gold. After their return home, they gather round the Pālikai beating time with their hands while they sing:

Tānanai, tānanai, tānanai, tānanai.
Mundi mundi Vināyakanē Muruga Sarasvatiyē.

They then remove the Pālikai to a flowing stream, let the shoots be washed away by the current, taking all the while

care that the pot, which they want to bring back, is not broken. Some women retain some of the plants and place them in their Tāli.

Before the animals, which are adorned with garlands and painted with colours, are sacrificed, saffron-water is poured on their heads, and, after they have shivered, they are killed with one blow, a sickle-like axe cutting off their heads. It is an inauspicious sign, if more than one blow is required. The head of the slaughtered animal goes invariably to the washerman, who is so eager to collect these heads and to get the milk-rice well boiled, that this anxiety of his has passed into the Tamil proverb: Why do you hasten so, as a washerman does for a sheep's head (Enna nī vaṇṇān āṭṭuttalaikku parandāṟ pōl parakkiṟāy)?

At last the Pūjāri boils for himself on three stones two or three measures (*kalams*) of rice and spreads on plantain-leaves, the sharp edges of which lie in front to the left of the goddess, mangoes, plantains and jackfruits. This collection is called Palayam.

After this comes the performance of treading on embers and walking through fire. A circular moat, 25 feet in diameter and 5 feet deep, is dug in the courtyard of the temple. Faggots and big logs of wood are burnt, and when the flames have subsided a little, while the heat is still unbearable in the neighbourhood of the ditch, those persons who have made the vow, and have fasted and abstained from all pleasures for a certain time, walk covered with mango-leaves and flower garlands on the embers in the pit, without doing themselves as a rule much harm. Other worshippers chant hymns during this time. Red hot embers are by the Pūjāri poured upon the hair of women, who also generally escape unhurt.

If hook-swinging is proposed to be performed, the Goddess is consulted whether it is to take place or not, and the

decision goes in its favour if the voice of a lizard is heard on the right side of the Goddess.

As soon as her consent becomes known, all the houses of the place are whitewashed, the payals on the outside of the houses are painted with white and red stripes, and festoons of mango and margosa leaves, are hung across the road. On the third day before the beginning of the feast a wooden car richly decorated with banners and plantains, provided with a pith cover and with a brass vessel (*Kumbha* or *Kalaśa*) on its peak, is constructed and the image of the Goddess is on the third day of the feast taken from the temple and deposited in the centre of the car. It devolves now on the Goddess to appoint the person who has to fulfil this task, which in the South is only done by a Maravan. White and red flowers are distributed among the competing Maravar, who have to fast previously for a fortnight. The candidate is then chosen from those who have received red flowers by the chief man among the Maravar, to whom the Goddess appears in the night of the 14th day, and announces the name of the person chosen by her. This man drinks a good deal of arrack on the 15th day, and a two-hooked iron previously fastened to a long and stout pole is inserted behind the big muscle of his back. This instrument is called *Śeḍil* in Tamil. He is then raised into the air, swinging from the pole which is fixed on the car, on which musicians, dancing girls and the Pūjāri are placed around the idol. The car is dragged by the crowd through the streets, while the man is oscillating in the air. During the progress of the car many people prostrate themselves before it, and sheep are sacrificed as the car moves on. On its return to the starting-place, the hook-swinger is released from the hooks and much honoured. Though serious accidents seldom happen, they do at times occur. On one occasion in Vaṭalaguṇḍu, when a young Marava girl was swinging, she

fell from the pole and was killed. She was buried in the temple-compound, and afterwards revered as a deity. At Vīrapāṇḍi the pole broke once at such a performance, but the man escaped with only a slight injury.

It is a pity that this detestable custom has been of late revived, as is proved by the hook-swinging festival at Cōḻavandān which took place the other day. It is high time that legislative measures are taken, to prevent its reoccurrence and this relapse into barbarism.

The slaughter of animals at these feasts is enormous, and they betray a very cruel character. Even milch-cows are offered to this Grāmadēvatā. This particular fact is very significant, when one remembers the sacredness of the cow, and the late anti-cow-killing movement.[269]

Her shrines are generally situated apart, and at a certain distance from the dwellings of the people. Some stand in fact quite secluded in the jungle. Her temple contains ten separate apartments, and in these she resides for preserving the whole world. She sits there on her throne surrounded by Gaṇapati, Dundubhi, Subrahmaṇya, Pārvatī, Kālī, Durgā, Valliyammai, Dēvayānai, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Bhūdēvī, her son Pāvāḍairāyan, Aṅgālammai, Ellaippiḍāri and the other six Piḍāris, and attended by Vāḻumuni, Japamuni, Kaṟuppaṉ, Kāṭṭāṉ, Cinnāṉ, Pūjaikkuratti, Nallataṅgāḷ, Vīrataṅgāḷ, Śeṅkōdiyammāḷ, Ānaigundiyalli, Malaiyanūrmāri who has a skull in her hand, and by her servants Mutyālu and Rāvuttan. Her shrine is sometimes surrounded by a wall, with a stone altar in front of it. Opposite to her special sanctuary is often erected another which contains the figures of Vīrabhadra, Madhuravīra, Mātaṅgi, besides the devil Kāt-

[269] See *Māriyamman tālāṭṭu*, p. 11. "Paramaśivanvāśalilē pāṟpaśu kāvukoṇḍāy" in the courtyard of Paramaśivan thou hast taken a milch-cow as a sacrifice.

tān, a shepherdess, a Brāhman-girl, a merchant's wife and the two doorkeepers.[270] Māriyamma is represented in a sitting posture and adorned in the same manner as Ellamma. Two figures of her stand in her temples; the one made of stone is immovable, while the other, made of metal, is carried about at the festivals. Besides these, small images of stone or wood are used for domestic worship. If the temple has a rich income, sacrifices are made every day, otherwise they take place only once a week, namely, on Fridays. The women offer to her now and then eatables in order to obtain her favour, these victuals becoming the perquisite of the Pūjāri and his servants.

A great festival in honor of Māriyamma is yearly celebrated during eight days, when fowls, goats, pigs, buffaloes—males of their kind—are immolated, and rice and milk are boiled in enormous quantities; the last day being the most splendid. This feast is not held at a fixed date, but may be observed in any month of the year. As a rule, one of these festivals is much like another, no matter in honour of what particular Grāmadēvatā it is made.

Māriyamma dwelt formerly in fire, and resides still in a lamp, or in a triangle (*trikōṇacakra*), square (*çātuṣkōṇacakra*) or in a hexagon (*ṣaṭkōṇacakra*). She is found on

[270] See *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 160—163. The two doorkeepers are called in Tamil *Śukkumāttaḍikkārar*, weavers of the staff *Śukkumāttaḍi*. *Kāttān* is a chief of devils, born of an adulterous Brahman woman, exposed by her and brought up by a Pariah. He knew the hour and the manner of his death, namely, that he should be impaled. He violated all the women, and as the men who tried to catch him and to put him on a spit could not do so, he impaled himself before them. In consequence Māriyamma took him into her service, his duty being to bring to her all those who have hanged or impaled themselves. He is even more dreaded than Māriyamman, and to him are sacrificed a far greater number of goats and cocks than to her. The shepherd woman, *Iḍaippeṇ*, gave buttermilk to the impaled Kāttān. Kāttān had also stolen and outraged the Brāhman-girl *Pāppātti* and afterwards kept her as his mistress. The merchant's wife, *Śettippeṇ*, had met wtih the same fate.

cross roads, and guards burial-grounds. Her chariot is made of Nimb wood, and she lives often under a Nimb tree, and reclines on Nimb tree leaves, while her head rests on a serpent cushion. Five hundred serpents (nāgas) are braided in her hair, in fact nāgas form her chief ornament; she carries, however, a parrot in her hand. Her eyes are filled with serpent-poison, and she stings and darts like a snake at a person who looks at her. In war she represents *Vīralakṣmī*. She destroys those who laugh at her. She is fond of milk-rice (*poṅgal*), the resin of the Nimb tree, and especially burnt bones. This is the reason why loaves of bread baked in the form of bones are offered to her. She likes the sound of the pariah drum *Tappaṭṭai*, of the hand drum *Uḍukkai*, and in short of all similar musical instruments.

When mantras are addressed to her, she heals the most dangerous diseases, but also removes illness by applying ashes and leaves of the Nimb-tree, and of the Wormwood plant (Tamil *Māśipattiri*). On the other hand she enters into the bodies of girls, and makes them whirl round, as if possessed by a demon, yet she removes the sin of those who address her with the holy five letters (*pañcākṣara*).[271]

She is regarded as the mother of the Śaiva virgins, or *Kannimār*, and is therefore called *Saptakanyānām mātā*.

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[271] Her by-name *Maṇimantraśēkharī* refers to her power over poison-stones and spells. In the following I quote a charm against cholera, small-pox and other diseases contained in the *Grāmadēvatōpratiṣṭhā* and ascribed to the supplement of the *Atharvaṇavēda*.

Vāntibhēdikutaḍaimantram, Atharvaṇavēdam pariśiṣṭam, Viṭōbākāṇḍalō.

"Duṣṭō rēṇur bhauma āmōnabhasvatyaddhā āṅktō ghātukō'ṭatyanantē, haṁsam prāpya prāṇihiṁsām vidhattē tannaḥ pāyād amṛtēśvaryamōghā." Anēna mantrēṇa amṛtēśvarīm catuṣpathamaṇṭapē pratiṣṭhāpya gōpuranikaṭē vā tāntrikamantrair arcayitvā balim upahṛtya mahārātrē bahis samantād grāmasya vādyaghōṣēṇa kalamamañjarīkalaśāmbhasā pariṣicya dēvīm udvāsayēd vamivirēcanādimārikārōgaśāntir bhavati.

The *pañcākṣara* is the well-known *Śivāya namaḥ*.

Pāvāḍairāyan, who wears the lower garment of a woman, is considered to be her son.[272]

This short description of Māriyamma may give an idea of the position this Grāmadēvatā occupies among the Indian people.

9. *Aṅgāramma* (*Aṅgālamma, Aṅkālamma, Aṅkamma*).

Aṅgāramma (Aṅgālamma, Aṅkālamma, or Aṅkamma) is as her name *aṅgāra* (in Sanskrit coal or charcoal) indicates, specially associated with fire, and this assertion is substantiated by the following stories.

At the beginning Brahman was residing alone on the Mēru. He dug there a deep pit, *Ōm-guṇḍa*, filled it with sandalwood, placed on it an antilope's skin, and having taken his seat on this pile, set fire to it. A great flame rose, and when he was about to be seized by the flame, he uttered a *mantra*. Instantaneously the Ādiśakti *Aṅgālamma*, who had never been seen or heard of previously, appeared in the fire, and demanded that he should worship her as the divine Śakti. Brahman, however, had no offerings to give her, but promised that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa would adore her at a future period.

According to another legend Aṅgāramma was the daughter of a learned Brāhman in the Cōḷa-country and had acquired such a superior knowledge that she put to shame the greatest Paṇḍits of her period. These men did not like to be worsted in arguments and discussion by a young girl, and in consequence conspired to disgrace her in public. For this purpose they presented her with a beautiful smooth cloth, which would, when put on her body, unawares slip from her waist, so that she would appear without any

[272] This *Pāvāḍairāyan* has other nick-names as *Kaṇjāveṟiyan* (mad through hemp, cannabis), *Kaṇaveṟiyan* (very mad), *Abhiniveṟiyan* (opium-mad) *Aṭiveṟiyan* (excessively mad), *Śārāveṟiyan* (wine-mad), *Taniveṟiyan* (chief of mad men), etc.

clothing before the assembly. Aṅgāramma accepted their present, and divining their intention, put on the dress in such a manner, that it could not slip. Thus attired, she entered the assembly, where she thoroughly discomfited her opponents, and outcasted those Brāhmans, who had attempted to dishonour her. Their meanness provoked her beside-to-such a fiery rage, that she was burnt to ashes, -nence her name.[273]

In commemoration of this event the Brāhman-women of Beṭṭadapuram near Mysore wear on their neck a golden image of Aṅgāramma, besides the *tāli* or māṅgalyam. They also tie their cloths in the same manner as Aṅgāramma tied on the one given to her by the treacherous Brāhmans.

[273] The *Rev. W. H. Campbell* writes in continuation of the first story of Aṅkāramma (whom he calls Aṅkālamma) and Brahman, that she appeared afterwards at midday in the city of Dēvagiri, when no cloud was in the sky, blazing like a thousand thunderbolts. The gods erected on her arrival a large golden temple in the city, but after a while the citizens became disgusted with her and expelled her from the town, for which she infested them with all sorts of loathsome diseases. At last she relented, and sent her younger sister, Kollapāṭi-Aṅkamma disguised as a Yerukula woman into Dēvagiri, to persuade the citizens to recall her. When these, however, heard who the Yerukula woman was, and why she had come, they threw her in their rage into a prison full of vermin. Aṅgāramma revenged her sister after delivering her, by catching the nine kingly brothers of Dēvagiri, and impaling them in her garden compound outside the city.

A student of mine has favoured me with another version of the second story of Aṅgāramma, whom he calls Aṅgālamma.

"A certain Brahmin was teaching the Veda to his disciples. One fair-looking Pariah living near was constantly listening to the recitation and learnt the Veda well. One day, assuming the appearance of a Brahmin bachelor, he presented himself before the teacher of the Veda and recited the Veda to the teacher's satisfaction. The teacher took him for a Brahmin youth and gave him his daughter in marriage. Time passed; she became of age and was taken to her husband's home. Then she discovered that her husband was a Chandala, returned to her father and stated to him the matter. He decided that fire alone could purify her. She went back to her husband's home, set fire to it when all the inmates were asleep, and threw herself into it, but was extracted half-burnt. She has ever since been roaming over the earth, doing acts of malice against mankind."

The Kuladēvatā of the Saṅkēta-Brāhmans of Beṭṭadapuram is to this day Aṅgāramma.

In fact the women are very fond of Aṅgāramma, and her worship preponderates among them, while among the men it is more or less confined to the performance of animal sacrifices. On festival days the women rise early in the morning at 4 o'clock, and after fulfilling their domestic duties and cleaning their houses with cowdung and sprinkling cow-urine on the floor, they repair with their brass-vessels to the nearest river or tank, to bathe and to paint themselves with saffron (*Paḷaṅgaḷi mañjal*). Then they return home, take their midday-meals, put sesamum oil into their hair, which is either arranged in snaky braids or in the form of a ball, entwined with flowers. Attired in their best dresses and wearing their many precious ornaments, they go attended by their male-folk, to the temple of the Goddess. If a bloody sacrifice is to take place the men bring along with them the sheep and cocks which are to be killed, the heads of which animals are afterwards taken home. The women boil their rice in their brass-vessels, and are careful to see that the grains sink after boiling in a southern direction, which is regarded an auspicious omen. Round the rims of the vessel saffron twigs are wound, and in front of them three lines are drawn with water mixed with ashes, and the woman who forgets to draw them, must make on the following day another boiling. After the worship has commenced, and the Pariahs have struck up their music and everybody is provided with their pallayam, the Goddess enters into a woman, who dances before her shrine, consuming pails full of saffron-water and eating heaps of margosa leaves. After having danced for a while before Aṅgāramma, she leaves the temple-compound, and returns dancing to her home, eating and drinking in abundance all the way, till the fit leaves her. Meanwhile the other people will

go on enjoying themselves, partake of their meals near the temple, and return home early in the morning.

Occasionally the women bring at moonlight, after the meals are over, a new image of the Goddess made by the potter, and after arranging themselves in a circle round Aṅgāramma, whirl ten times round her, singing the following verse, indicating while so doing the number of their roundelay. The fifth time, *e.g.*, one half will begin: *Añjām kiḷi āḍa* (fifth parrot play), the other half will add: *Pañcavarṇakiḷi pāḍa* (five-coloured parrot sing), and all clapping their hands, will finish with the refrain *Aṟputamāy perundēvi āḍiya pantāḍa* (wonderfully plays the great Goddess the ball). After they have sung and danced thus ten times, they return home at daybreak.

If a woman is possessed with a devil, she will bathe and repair in her wet clothes at night to the image of Aṅgāramma, attended by her relatives and an exorcist. Plantain leaves are placed before the shrine, the possessed woman will move her head in all directions, and the exorcist while beating a drum will sing:

"For the kneeling legs, O mother, for the legs, O mother, certainly (use) pomegranate-flower-coloured trousers; after having risen, put on the legs, O mother, on the legs, O mother, tutti-flower-coloured (yellow-coloured) trousers."[274]

He will then ask the devil what his name is, and when he tells it, naming generally one of the common Kaṟuppaṇṇasvāmis, the woman will under the influence of the goddess touch a knot tied without her knowledge. The devil will now be beaten with twigs of the Arka plant (Calatropis gigantea), confess where and why he took possession of the woman, and promise to leave her, if he gets 3 or 4

[274] Maṇḍipōttakālkaḷḷukku tāyē kālkaḷḷukku tāyē mādulampūśalladam ām.
Tukki vaita kālkaḷḷukku tāyē kālkaḷḷukku tāyē tuttipūśalladam ām.

panams of arrack to drink. The woman after this gets up, takes a big stone and hurls it at the tree, where the devil is supposed to dwell. Her relatives and the exorcist run after her, cut the above-mentioned knot from her hair, wind it on an iron nail and fix it on the tree. The woman will then bathe and be free from the devil.

When only unbloody offerings are presented to Aṅgāramma, she is called Kanakammāḷ.

The statue of Aṅgāramma resembles those of Ellamma and Māriyamma. She also appears in a sitting posture, with four hands, two of which are raised while the two others are bent. The raised hand on the right carries a weapon of wood and leather, round which is wound a serpent, while that on the left contains a noose (*pāśa*), with which she attracts the souls of the dead; one of the other two hands is empty, in the fourth she wears the head of Brahman. On her head is placed a crown, behind her ears are two flowers and in them are two big earrings, while the locks of her hair are raised. Beside her stand two lamps, which are, however, not always burning. In her temples, which resemble those of the previously mentioned Grāmadēvatās, and which are generally situated near rivers or fords, Aṅgāramma stands in the inner apartment, and in the outer, generally carved out of wood are found *Periyatambirān*,[275] *Iruḷan* (a savage forester), *Raṇavīran*, a valiant demon; *Vīrabhadra*, *Pāvāḍaivīran*, who resembles Raṇavīran; the *Angels of Life* (the *Uyirttūṇḍilkārar*) who have been mentioned previously as attending on Ellamma, and are in the same capacity utilised by Aṅgāramma; a woman who committed suicide by springing into the fire, was burnt, and did many wonders after her death, whose name is in Tamil

[275] *Periyatambirān*, the great god, is according to some the god whom Dakṣa had chosen to displace Īśvara. Others make him the husband of Aṅgāramma and the chief of the devils. If sacrifices are offered to him, he does do no harm. See *Ziegenbalg*, p. 167.

Tīkkudittammāḷ; and lastly a powerful demoness *Kāṭṭēri,* of whom the people are very much afraid.

At least, once a week, on Fridays, Aṅgāramma is worshipped in her pagoda. Like the other Grāmadēvatās she also has a yearly festival celebrated in her honour.[276] Such a feast lasts about eight days, but has no certain fixed

[276] The Rev. *G. N. Thomssen,* of the American Baptist Mission, gave me the following description of a festival of Aṅgāramma at Vinukonda:

"In the year 1884 many of the thatched houses of the town burned down, having been set fire to, so it is alleged, by an insane man. The many fires frightened the natives who began to enquire what goddess they had offended, and the Brahmin Karnam and others said that Ankamma was destroying their houses and would soon kill the cattle and children, if she were not propitiated by sacrifices of buffaloes, sheep and cocks. At once all the Hindus of Vinukonda, a large town of about 5,000 inhabitants, situated about 250 miles north of Madras in the Kistna District, secured sheep, tied wreaths of margosa leaves round their necks, and placed them outside of their houses on the street. Carts were decorated by painting the wheels, and gaudy standards were fastened on them, some 20 feet high, and on Sunday afternoon the people went to the Ankamma temple, a tumble-down building about 6 feet wide, 10 feet long and 7 feet high. In a corner of this place was a common stone, about 1½ feet high and 8 inches wide, which represented Ankamma. The stone was painted, eyes, mouth and nose put on it, a red cloth with some tinsel was wrapped around it, and lights were placed before it. Each cart was driven three times around the temple, and then the sacrifices were killed with a sickle-shaped knife before the idol, some of the sheep being impaled by placing their sternum upon a sharp post and pulling them down, so that the wood passed through their bodies. The excitement about Ankamma increased, and soon the surrounding villages sent carts and sacrifices to the Vinuconda Ankamma. Messengers who professed to be possessed by Ankamma went from village to village, telling people to come and worship this Gramadevata. Every day of the week carts came bringing worshippers and sacrificers, but Thursday and Sunday were considered the most propitious days, and on these days sometimes as many as 70 buffaloes, 2,000 sheep, and numberless cocks were killed. Ankamma was said to burn houses, kill cattle, cause cholera and give children to barren women, who, after sleeping three nights near the temple were to become pregnant. Some boys and dancing girls professed to be incarnations of Ankamma, and these would sometimes fall into convulsions and prophesy. The oldest inhabitant of the place did not remember the time when this idol had before been worshipped, but neglecting Ankamma so long was held to be the cause of all the calamities that befel the people."

date. The brazen image of the Grāmadēvatā is carried round in the morning and evening, and on the evening of the last day all the villagers, especially the women with their daughters, assemble before her pagoda, and light everywhere fires for cooking rice, a portion of which they present to the goddess and her attendants, whilst they distribute the remainder among themselves. Hundreds of such rice-fires are thus lit by the women round the temple, and illuminate the neighbourhood, while the men sacrifice cocks, pigs, goats and buffaloes, part of which they present cooked to the goddess.

If a person is possessed with a devil, he is brought to the temple of Aṅgāramma, whose principal office it is to protect men from jungle, field, and domestic demons. A sacrifice is then offered, the demoniac is placed before the image, a drum (*pambai*) is beaten, praises are sung in honour of the goddess, and the other necessary ceremonies are performed, by which the demon is compelled to leave his victim.[277]

4.—*Piḍāri.*

Piḍāri[278] is one of the most widely worshipped and most mischievous Grāmadēvatās. Her temples, large and small, are found everywhere, especially in South India. She is reputed to have a very passionate and irascible disposition, and she is for this reason represented on her images with a red-hot face and body, and on her head is burning fire. She sits on her throne or rather on the altar, with a crown on her head, and the emblems of Śiva on her forehead. The locks of her hair stand up erect, and ornaments are entwined in them. From the slit flaps of her ears hang pendants above and below, and two flowers are fastened behind her ears. She carries in her four hands a drum fastened to a snake,

[277] See *Ziegenbalg* about Aṅkālamma, pp. 164—169.

[278] There are seven kinds of Piḍāri, the *Ellaippiḍāri* stands on the boundaries, another is *Kaṇṭippiḍāri*.

a trident, the skull of Brahman and an elephant's goad. As a rule there is no other image in her temple than her own, and she is not surrounded by deities, as are the other Grāmadēvatās. Near her own image stands occasionally Vighnēśvara, and at the entrance of her temple are placed two gigantic and horribly shaped demons or *Munnaḍiyār*. Where her temple is large, she is surrounded by her eighteen generals with their soldiers. In front of her shrine stand a married couple of trees, a Pipal (Ficus religiosa) and a Margosa. These trees must be above twenty years old before they can be used for worship. The tree-couple is duly married with all the necessary ceremonial displayed at human weddings. In case of any thing untoward happening to this pair, another is planted in its neighbourhood, in order to take its place eventually.

When in consequence of drought, murrain, or some other reason, it appears desirable that Piḍāri should be worshipped, the Brāhmans of the village are consulted, and if they give in their assembly, or *Mahānāḍu*, a favourable reply, preparations are at once made for its celebration and subscriptions collected.

In case of a murrain the ryots choose generally a young fat bull as a worthy gift to Piḍāri, which, when marked with a trident (*triśūla*), is allowed to roam about at its own free will, till the time of its end comes, and it is chosen from among the other bulls to be sacrificed.

These special sacrifices are also celebrated on a Friday, when the temple is carefully decorated and pandals erected in front of it. The sacrificial bull is then removed from the field, bathed in the neighbouring tank or river, and taken to the temple. As soon as this is done the Pūjāri rings the bell in the morning, as a sign that the feast has begun.

Fire-treading, though in an altered form, figures also at these ceremonials. Those who have made this vow

prepare themselves by previous fasting, and tie round their right arm a fortnight before the feast a string dyed with saffron colour. To this string is attached a small iron ring, to keep off the devils, as the evil spirits cannot stand the proximity of iron. When the time has approached, they walk through the fire-ditch, which is 45 feet long, 5 feet broad and 3 feet deep, and after having performed this religious feat, they take off the saffron-tie and dedicate it to Piḍāri.

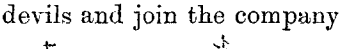
At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the sacrificial bull, richly decorated, is conducted in procession through the main streets. He is tied with two strong ropes or even with iron chains. Music goes along with this troupe and dried palmyra leaves are dragged behind in its track. The women present, when it passes their houses, a mixture of water with saffron, lime and margosa leaves (*nalaṅgu*) contained in shallow brass-trays, and put it afterwards out in front of their houses. After the bull has finished its circuit, a second procession starts from the temple on the same road as the previous one, but formerly dry palmyra leaves are now dragged behind the bull in flames, which are kept up by pouring ghee on them. This ceremony is undertaken to prevent hostile spirits interfering with the sacrifice. A third circuit is made after this second has reached the temple, and numerous three months' old lambs are sacrificed on its way in the street corners and in places which are said to be haunted. The flowing blood is mixed with rice and thrown into the air as an oblation to the devil. Women and children are not allowed to witness this procession. After this is over, the men return to their homes, to take their evening meal. They then assemble in a lonely place, generally on a sandbank formed by a stream, or in a tank, where they erect two inches above the ground a square platform, in the centre of which they place a new

and clean pot, whose mouth is covered with a fibreless cocoa-nut which is surrounded by flowers. This pot (*karakam*) is then amidst the sounds of music (*Koṭṭumēḷam*) taken up by a properly trained man, who places it on his head and performs the wildest dance without letting it drop to the ground.

At last at about 11 P.M. the bull, surrounded by torch-lights and attended with music, appears on the spot, where the people are already assembled, and a moat as high as the bull has been dug. A pole and a cross-bar over the moat are provided. The bull is placed under the cross-bar and tied to the pole. Towards midnight only a few men have the courage to remain, most slink away out of fear of the dreadful goddess; till at last, when only a few are present, Piḍāri will possess a man who with a sword lying ready will at one stroke cut off the head of the bull. While the outpouring blood is collected in a basin and mixed with rice, a man addresses the goddess, crying out: Ōm enṛu śol, ām enṛu śol, akārādi ukārādi aḍakkam sadakṣaram! Vāli, Kapāli, Nēru, Mūli, Bhairavi, Cāmuṇḍi, Vallavi, Uddaṇḍi, Ōṅkārakāli, ōḍi vā, ōḍi vā, ōḍi vā (come running). Another man throws rice balls soaked in blood into the air as an offering to the devils, and he is bound with iron chains and dragged away by his friends, lest the evil spirits should catch hold of him.

With this the ceremony ends, the goddess is appeased and the people return. An annual festival, lasting between seven and eight days, is held in her honour out of gratitude for the protection she vouchsafes to men against the machinations and attacks of the devils, as whose queen she was for this purpose appointed, when she was expelled from heaven and banished to earth owing to her malicious and mischievous character. But at her pagoda, especially before her image of stone, once a week libations are poured

and offerings of fruit and animals are made. Those who hang, or poison, or drown themselves, or die a sudden death, or who die in consequence of having maliciously torn their tongues out of their own mouths, or are killed by snakes, become devils and join the company of Piḍāri.[279]



5.—*Bhadrakālī.* 6.—*Cāmuṇḍā.* 7.—*Durgā.*

Bhadrakālī, Cāmuṇḍā and *Durgā* represent three aspects of Ambā or Śakti in her passionate character or in her dark colour. *Kālī* or Bhadrakālī, the auspicious Kālī, commonly known as Kāliyamma or Kālamma (as in the Tulu country), the tutelary deity of Calcutta, became after her expulsion from heaven in consequence of her savage disposition—hence also called the *Aghōraśakti*—the queen of the female demons. Yet, in spite of her fierce and cruel temperament she protects men against demons. Śiva is said to have competed with her in dancing at Cidambaram and surpassed her in this performance. Śiva is therefore in the Tamil country known as the *Pēyōḍāḍi*, he who danced with a devil, and for this reason Kālī is represented in a dancing position. She wears on her head a fiery crown entwined with snakes, Śiva's signs are marked on her forehead, two lion-fangs protrude from her mouth, she possesses ten hands of which two are clapped together and two empty, while of the remaining six the three on the right side carry respectively a rope, a parrot and a spear, and the three on the left side a drum (*ḍamaru*) with a snake, fire and a trident. Besides her own images there are found in her pagodas those of Vighnēśvara, Vīrabhadra and Aghōra. Aghōra, an euphemistic expression, is in reality an avatāra of Śiva who rushed out of the liṅga in order to destroy the giant Marutta, to whom Brahman had promised invincibi-

[279] See *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 175, 176.

lity and who had made himself unbearable by his presumption and violence against gods and men.[280]

To Kālī bloody sacrifices are offered, and the victims are not only animals, but up to late—(and who knows if not even at present)—human beings. The investigation against the Kulin-Brāhmans in the Mahratta country showed of what common occurrence were these religious murders, committed under the pretence of gratifying the goddess, but really done for the sake of covetousness. Kālī, under the name of Bhavānī, was the goddess of the Thugs, who regarded themselves her faithful followers while pursuing their nefarious profession.

Cāmuṇḍā is a counterpart of Kālī, and resembles her also in her outward appearance, in her erected hairlocks, her fiery complexion, and her two lion-fangs. She has, however, only four hands, two of which stretched out upwards carry respectively the weapons of Viṣṇu, a conch and a disc, while the other two are joined and open. Under her feet lies the head of the Mahiṣāsura, whom she killed, for which deed she is celebrated in Mysore.

Her temples also generally contain the figures of Vighneśvara, Vīrabhadra (mostly made of wood), the Uyirttūṇḍilkārar, and the devil who acts as her aide-de-camp (*ēvalkārappēy*). Cāmuṇḍā confers valour on her adherents, and assists the wizards in their magic arts, and she is invoked by those sorcerers with special spells.[281]

Durgā (Durgāmbā, Durgamma, Durgiyamma, Durgyamma) is represented with the face of a sheep while killing *Siṁhamukhāsura* on whose lion-head her feet are resting. She is likewise of a fiery temper, wears golden ornaments, pearls and gems on her head, has the emblems of Śiva on her forehead, and carries in her six hands a ring, a sword,

[280] Compare *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 170—174.

[281] See *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 176—187.

a trident, an elephant's goad and a human head. The giant Siṁhamukhāsura had been appointed by Aiyanār superintendent of his garden, and fought with Durgā, when she was trespassing and doing mischief in it. As Durgā killed him, she was ordered to look after men and protect them on earth, with the further obligation to obey the orders which Aiyanār would give her.[282]

It is not necessary to describe specially the worship of these three goddesses, as it resembles that of the other Grāmadēvatās.[283] The legends concerning Bhadrakālī,

[282] See *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 178—180.

[283] About the sacrifices to *Durgā* compare the paper of Mr. F. Fawcett, p. 267: "In Banivikal the village goddess is called Durgamma, and every year there is a festival in her honour. In her temple outside the village she is usually represented by five conical earthen symbols called *Kēlu*. The temple is built over a snake's hole, and besides it is a large margosa tree. The tree and the snake (if there is one) are sacred, and considered to be symbols of Durgamma . . The pujari, whose office is hereditary, is a Boya by caste. In his house he keeps the more important symbols of the goddess, viz., two tiny images of Basavana; a cane staff 3 feet in length almost covered with silver bands (the offering of devotees) and surmounted by a cobra's head in silver; a female face also in silver, and nearly life-size . . . On the first day of the feast the symbols, which collectively represent Durgamma, are carried on a litter to some water, any tank or well, and washed by the pujari; and afterwards, together with a new pot filled with water, carried to the temple and put in the place of the Kēlu, which are removed to one side and ornamented with bangles. The silver face is erected on a stick behind the pot of water and a woman's cloth is tied to it just under the face and over the pot of water. The other symbols are placed beside it, the snake upright. The symbols are decorated with flowers, leaves of the Bilva (Aegle marmelos) and some leaves of the betel-nut tree, while wave offerings of camphor are made by the pujari. A buffalo bull is then driven through the village streets with tom-toming to the temple; a black ram is brought too. These are not devoted animals, but have been purchased for the feast. They are washed at the temple, decorated with red powder, and beheaded with a weapon, shaped like a battle-axe, in front of the goddess; the sheep first, the buffalo afterwards, by one of the Boyas present. The sheep's head is buried in front of the goddess (the place is marked by a small stone), and the buffalo's head is placed in a miniature temple about 30 feet in front of the goddess, its

Cāmuṇḍā and Durgā are, moreover, so well known, as they are described in the Sanskrit Purāṇas, that I need not dilate on them. These three have also much in common with each other and are distinguished in appearance from the previously described four Grāmadēvatās. These four have throughout human features, while Kālī and Cāmuṇḍā have lion-fangs, and Durgā has the head of a sheep; they are represented in a sitting posture, while the other three do not sit, but are either dancing, standing, or even riding. These seven, with the two wives of Aiyanār (of whom

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right foreleg in the mouth; and on the head are placed some fat from the stomach, some flour, a little manure, and a lamp in an earthen vessel. Then, men and women of the Boya caste who are under vows to the goddess, divest themselves of clothing and dressed from chin to feet in margosa leaves, walk thrice round the temple. After this they go home, put on new cloths and bring each a black sheep as a sacrifice to the goddess. These sacrificed animals are afterwards eaten, the heads being given to musicians and servants. The sheep that was first sacrificed is then cooked at the temple, and with some flour eaten there by all the flesh-eating people, after offering some to the margosa tree and to the other symbols of the goddess. By this time it is 9 P.M. and the symbols are carried back to the pujari's house, a Madiga, with the buffalo's head on his own leading the procession. The pujari pours the water away and retains the pot for his own use."

A similar description is given further on, in which it is said: "Near is a temple of Durgamma. Five stones represent her in her temple. The people start in procession with music to a tank, the pujari (a carpenter) carrying the kēlu going first and following him one of his household carrying a new earthen pot with a man's cloth tied round it and a small cloth, in which is a piece of turmeric, round its neck, and inside it some betel-nuts and cocoanut fruits. Gangamma (the tank) is worshipped by breaking cocoanuts and carrying burning camphor, the pot is filled with water, and the kēlu is marked with red powder and turmeric. The pot of water and the kēlu represent the goddess. They then go in procession to the temple, the kēlu is placed in front of the five stones, and the pot next it. All go with music to bring Durgamma's image from the pujari's house, where it is kept, to her temple. The wooden image is dressed and adorned; and the pujari carries it on his head to the temple . . ."

I shall speak afterwards), form the nine Śaktis, and are the principal Grāmadēvatās.

According to the various qualities ascribed to Ambā or Śakti as a Grāmadēvatā, she is called the Mother, *Tāy*; the one and principal Mother, *Ēkamātā*, *Ēgāttāḷ* (Ēgāttā, Ēgamman, Ēgāttē (in Madras), Ēkavalli; the protecting Mother, *Kāttāyi*; the good Mother, *Nallāttāḷ*; the goddess of righteousness, *Cellāyi* (Celvāyi, Celliyamman); the sheltering Goddess, *Tañciyamman*; the auspicious Goddess, *Kalliyāṇiyammāḷ*; the self-existing Goddess, *Tāntoṇiyamman*; the Mother of welfare, *Cēmāttē* (in Perambūr); the small Mother, *Cinnammai*; the young Mother, *Tāyilāḷamman* (Bālāmbā). When granting coolness she is the *Kuḷuntiyamman*; when carrying a conch she is *Ceṅkōdiyamman*; when wearing anklets *Cilambāttāḷ*, when flowers *Cevantiyamman*, when a garland of pearls *Kōlamaṇiyammāḷ*; when lotus-eyed *Muṇḍalakkaṇṇiyamman*; when of green colour *Pacciyamman* or *Paccaiyammāḷ*. She grants conception to women as *Paiṇḍiyamman* (though as such she should perhaps be regarded as one of the Bālagrahas, or as a Kṣudradevatā). She is invoked especially in Mysore by barren women as *Unnattāmbā* to bestow children, and heals boils as *Bobbalamma*. She is the goddess of war as *Cēnaiyāttāḷ*, of the spear as *Vēlāttāḷ*; the mother of snakes as *Nāgāttāy*.

She protects the village and is as such the *Ūttukkāṭṭammam* or *Ūramman*,[284] or *Cēṇiyammāḷ* (from *Śrēṇi*, row);

[284] About the worship of Uramman compare *The Village Festivals in S. India* by F. Fawcett, p. 274, "In Kudligi the village goddess is Uramma and her festival is performed in this way. As a preliminary the headmen of the village meet on a Tuesday and take five new earthen vessels to the temple and put in each five 'duddus,' half a seer of rice, five cocoanut fruits, and five betel-nuts; and put one vessel in each corner and one near the place of the goddess, who is now out being painted. Her image is of margosa wood. The pots are covered, and on the centre one is placed a lamp which must not be extinguished for 8 days, while the vessels remain as they were placed. *Brahmans* worship the pots with offerings of cooked rice and other food, etc."

she protects the soil as *Mannamma* (Maṇṭamma);[285] she guards the various streets and is in the Maratha country adored during the Navarātri-festival as *Mahalāi Mātā*, when on the northern gate of a village she is called *Vaḍakkuvācalāyi*; where three roads meet, as in the Black-town of Madras, she is known as the *Muccandiyamman*, in Sanskrit as *Trisandhīśvarī*, the Latin *Trivia*.

Sailors when at sea, or those who travel by sea, solicit the favour of *Alaimōtiyammāḷ*, the Sanskrit *Kallōlinī*, while some ascribe to the seven *Kanninār* or virgins (from the Sanskrit *Kanyā*, virgin) the charge of the rivers in the forests and hills.

Many Grāmadēvatās are named after the villages they

[285] See *ibidem*, p. 270: (The goddess) of Hūrlipal is called Mannamma and her festival is expensive, as 1,280 seers of rice are required. Preliminary to the festival, which occupies 5 days, three seers of paddy are poured on the floor of a Madiga's house; water mixed with jaggery is also poured on it, and a new pot of date palm toddy is placed thereon. The toddy is purchased and not devoted in any way. It is left so for 5 days, or until the paddy sprouts, as it generally does on the third day; and the sooner it does the better the omen for the coming season. The Madiga's office is hereditary and he receives a share of the income or profits of the temple. The night after the paddy sprouts the festival begins by the Madiga carrying the pot of toddy to the goddess's temple and placing it on a platform in front of it. It is worshipped there during the following day. In the afternoon of the next day, Mariamma, another goddess, is wheeled on her little car, to the left side of the door of Mannamma's temple, and left there. At 3 P.M. a buffalo is sacrificed to the right of the temple door, by a Madiga. On the next days, 1,280 seers of rice are boiled, a sheep is sacrificed where the buffalo was, and every bit of its blood, bones and its all, is mixed with the rice and scattered round about outside the village. This occupies all night. On the next day a small black ram is bitten to death by a Potaraz, as described before, and this sheep is buried with the pot of toddy to the right of the door of the temple. Mariamma is then wheeled back to her temple. The fifth and last day is occupied in general worship of the goddess. There is no drinking or general feasting. (I have retained the name *Mannamma*, as it appeared in the first print of Mr. Fawcett's article in the *Madras Mail*, instead of Wannamma, as it was afterwards printed).

protect or perhaps the villages after them, *e.g.*, *Ōcūramman* (Hosur in the Salem district), *Kaccippatiyāḷ* (Kañjivaram), *Kaḍumbāḍiyammāḷ*, *Karikāttammāḷ*, *Kōlāramma*, *Śamaya-purattāḷ* (Śamayapuram near Trichinopoly), *Paḍaivīṭṭamman*, etc.

The Grāmadēvatā is also associated with animals, *e.g.*, with serpents, scorpions, birds and trees. The Grāmadēvatā of Kōlār or Kōlāramma is called *Vṛścikēśvarī* (from *vṛścika*, scorpion), for she heals those who have been stung by scorpions; the tutelary deity of Pittapur is *Kukkuṭāmbā* or *Kukkuṭēśvarī* (from *kukkuṭa*, cock). *Puttālamma* (or *Valmīkinī*, the mother of white ants) is worshipped in Puttūru; from *puttikā*, in Sanskrit white-ant.

Trees are often regarded as personating the deity, and the villagers in Guzerat throw pieces of rags on trees which they intend to worship, especially on the Śamī tree, converting it into a deity by this ceremony. An instance of this custom supplies the worship of the Tamil *Yakkalādēvī*, who is the patroness of the Arka plant or Calatropis gigantea. Certain Brahman families worship this *Yakkamma* (Arkamma, Arkavṛkṣasthā or Arkēśvarī) as their Kuladēvatā. The *Ellaikāramma* is revered by gardeners who cultivate betel. The *Panaivēriyamman* (from *panai*, palm tree or tālavṛkṣa) is fond of palmyra and other palm trees, and is thus known as *Tālavāsinī*; as *Balabhadrikā* she is said to have come into existence after Balabhadra. The *Puḷiyi-daivāḷiyamman* is associated with the Tamarind tree *puḷi*, under which Māriyamman also resides.[286] *Eṭṭiyamman* from *eṭṭi*, nux vomica, protects against the poison of that fruit; she has a temple in *Punnai*. The *Aśalāttāḷ* derived from *Aśalā*, a maid-servant of Śabarī, an incarnation of Pārvati, at the time when Śiva had assumed the form of a hunter or śabara,

[286] Under a tamarind tree was born Nammālvār or Śaṭhakōpa.

protects from wild beasts, serpents and thorns, and the *aśalamantra* is uttered in order to avoid them. The well-known Telugu Grāmadēvatā Polēramma, Pōlēriyamma, who is connected with small-pox and thus associated with Māriyamma, as mentioned above on p. 471 is by others explained as identical with Holeyaramma, the goddess of the Holeyas or Pariahs, and therefore called Caṇḍālamātṛ, Mātaṅgi, or Palagauri. Pōlalamma is mentioned as a sister of Aṅkālamma.

Śūrpanakhā, the well-known sister of Rāvaṇa, is as *Mukharaśu*, a person who has her nose cut off, revered in the villages of the Nīlagiri mountains.[287]

In the various sacrifices mentioned above, repeated allu-

[287] Besides these village goddesses I may mention: Accammā (Naccamma, a corrupted form of Lakṣmī), Akkadēvatalu (in Pedda Gerukūru), Alamantāl, Allamma, Añcammā (in Chittūr), Aṇṇiyamman near Bangalore, one of the personated *siddhis*, aṇiman, mahiman, laghiman, gariman, prāpti, prakāmya, īśatva and vaśitva), Aracāttāl, Aracāttamman, Arātamma, Arētamma (in Kōdavalūru), Āśāpura, Auvaiyār, Āyiyamman (in Ukkal), Baṭalā, Bahucarā, Bālamma, Baṅgāramma, Baṇṭadevade (Tulu), Bēcarāji, Bevāi, Bhramaraṁbā, Canalamma, Caṅgalamma, Caṅgalammāl (in Harinahalli, brick-goddess), Cavuramma, Ceñcamma, Ceṅkaḷaṇiyammāl, Dēvallamma, Dēvyammai, Ēkavīrikā (in Māpuri), Eḷaṅkāliyamma, Elamatticchi, Elugōlamma, Ennamma, Galagalamma, Gaṅgamma (in Gaṅgapaṭṭanam), Gaṅgayya, Gaṅganamma, Gānteramma, Iriciyamman, Irulāttamman, Jalamma, Jōgulāmba (in Alampuri), Kaḍambariyamman, Kāmamma, Kēdāramma (in Bellari), Kirātamma, Kommamma, Kōnamma, Koṇḍamma, Koṇḍalamma, Kōnelāmba, Kōtamma, Kūnalamma, Kuṇḍiyamman, Kuppamma, Kūṭāḷamma, Maddalamma, Malamma (of the mountain), Māmillamma, Maṅgaliyamman, Māntiyamman, Mārakī, Māramma, Mārellamma, Māremma, Mēlkāttai, Moracamman, Muḍuccāttāl, Mukuṇḍiyamman, Mūkāmbā, Mullittumāṅgiliyamman, Murukāttāl, Nāccivār, Nāgamamba, Nāgalamma, Nūkalamma, Olamma, Omāttāl (sister of Eṭṭiyamman), Pāliyamman, Pallālamma (in Vānapalli), Panaiyāttāl, Panaiyāttamman, Paṇḍellamma, Pātālapoṭṭiyamman, Pēramma, Periyammai, Peddāci Pōlakamma, Pōlēkamma (in Indukūru) Ponniyammi, Pullamma, Pūṅkōṭiyammā, Punnalamma, Puṭṭalamma, Puṭṭamma, Śūramma, Tallamma, Taṭṭamma, Timmamma, Tulakāyamman, Udiṣalamma, Uggamma, Uṅkulamma, Valliyammāl, Vantipūnniyamman, Vaḍavuḍyamman, Vellaiyammāl, Velagalamma, Vellamma, Venyamma, Veṅkammāl, Vīramma, etc., etc. Compare *above* pp. 184, 185 about Rāvaṇa's connection with the Todas.

sion has been made to the custom of representing the goddess by pots, so that the existence of a special Grāmadēvatā, as pot-goddess, need not surprise us. She is called in Tamil *Kumbāttāḷ*, in Sanskrit *Kumbhamātā*, and in Kanarese *Garigadēvara*. In Tamil such a pot is called *Karakam*.

The position of the Grāmadēvatā as chief deity of the non-Aryan population, has been proved, I trust, by the description contained in the preceding pages, however incomplete and even inaccurate it may be in some respects. An important feature of the worship of the Grāmadēvatā is the fact that not only does the well-to-do rural population devote itself religiously to the strict performance of all prescribed ceremonies, but also the lowest layers of the Indian people, the Pariahs, play, as we have seen, a leading part in them. It is they who in fact perform the sacrifice and become possessed with the goddess, before whose presence they appear in person. The prominent position of the Pariahs at the festivals of Brahmanic shrines has been already noticed, and it has been proved on that occasion that the greater number of such shrines were intimately connected with legends, in which the now despised Pariah was the favorite of the divinity.[288] I felt in consequence entitled to infer that these Brahmanical pagodas occupy at the present day the sites of former places of Pariah worship, and that the Pariahs, though deprived of their property, had managed to retain some title to it, which seemed to be admitted by the fact that their presence was required for the solemnization of the religious rites. Still, this participation of the Pariahs in the festivals at Brahmanical temples is not so surprising as the presence and assistance of Brahmans at the feasts of the Grāmadēvatās, a participation which may be scorned by many pious and intelligent Brahmans, but which is

[288] See pp. 50—56, 451.

nevertheless a well-known fact, proving the influence which superstition exercises on the human mind, however free it may boast to be.

These variously named Grāmadēvatās are all essentially of the same nature, and so are also the rites performed at their festivals. The majority of the names of the Grāmadēvatās I have quoted, are taken from the vernaculars of Southern India, but their exact counterparts will also be found in Guzeratī and in the languages of Hindustān. I have been compelled to confine myself mainly to the tutelary deities of Southern India, for in spite of all my endeavours, I was unable to obtain satisfactory and trustworthy information from the Northern districts of India. From the knowledge I have obtained, I am, however, of opinion that the same religious ideas pervade the whole non-Aryan population throughout India, though differences may exist owing to local idiosyncracies. Finally, it may be necessary to repeat that in the Grāmadēvatā the people revere their local deity, who protects the soil of their village or town—or by whatever name we may call the community—from all sorts of calamities, who grants rich crops and supplies sufficient food for men and beast. She represents the Mother Earth, the Prakṛti, the prototype of the power which afterwards developed into that of Śakti.

On Aiyanār (Ayyappa or Sāsta).

In the preceding pages I have repeatedly alluded to *Aiyanār* by which name the Supreme God of the Gauda-Dravidians is principally known in Southern India, while the Kanarese people call him Ayyappa.[289] He is indeed the highest ruler among the non-Aryan aborigines of this

[289] About Aiyanār compare *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 148—156; see also the short note about him by the Rev. F. Kittel in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 168.

country, and is therefore very appropriately called *Śāsta*, ruler, by which term he is generally named. The expression *Aiyanār* is Tamil, but its first portion, *Aya*, *Ayya*, or *Aiya* contains the ancient Gauda-Dravidian word for father, lord and master, while the plural termination *ār* added to the Tamil *Aiyan* expresses honor; the Kanarese affix *appa*, father, in Ayyappa indicates the same meaning. I do not believe that this Gauda-Dravidian word *Aya*, *Ayya*, or *Aiya* is derived from the Sanskrit word *Ārya*, respectable, though the latter term has in some cases been really changed in Gauda-Dravidian dialects into *aiya*, *aya* or *ayya*.

The influence of Aiyanār has much decreased in course of time, but not so much perhaps among the rural people, who both love and dread him. He uses his position, as Chief of the Bhūtas, or of the Ghosts, to restrain them from inflicting harm on men.[290] Mounted on a wild elephant or on a horse, he rides sword in hand over hills and dales to clear the country from all obnoxious spirits. It is generally believed that at midnight, preceded by heralds, and followed by his retinue, Aiyanār leaves his residence to go a hunting. All ride at an awful pace with swords in their hands and surrounded by torch-bearers. Any one who meets this hunting party on the road, meets a certain death, and the sight of Aiyanār, *Aiyankāṭci*, is therefore much feared. The people, however, praise his kindness

[290] See *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 152, 153: "Wenn die Teufel wider Aiyanārs Willen den Menschen einigen Schaden zufügen, so straft und peinigt er sie. Seine Wohnung ist in der Welt, er ist gegenwärtig an allen den Orten, wo Menschen und Teufel zu finden sind. Wir opfern ihm deshalb in und ausser seinen Pagoden, dass nicht etwa die Teufel sich zu uns nahen möchten und uns besitzen. Damit er nun alle Arten Teufel von uns abhalte und von ihrer Macht uns beschütze, auch alles Böse abwende, bringen wir ihm allerlei Opfer und Verehrung als Böcke, Schweine, Hähne, Wein, gekochten Reis und dergleichen Ess-und Trinkwaaren mehr. Nur aus diesem Grunde pflegen wir ihm Opfer zu bringen."

and say to him: "O Lord of ghosts, who is always pleased, who is filled with kindness towards all creatures, protect, protect, O long armed, to Thee, O Śāsta, be salutation and salutation."[291]

He is generally requested to grant wealth, to bestow sons, to destroy enemies, to avert drought, to secure the favour of women, to destroy the evil effects or omens caused by lizards, and similar boons.[292]

Under his special charge are the boundaries, forests, tanks and rivers. In his duties and outward appearance he has much resemblance to, nay is really identical

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[291] Bhūtanātha sadānanda sarvabhūtadayāpara
rakṣa rakṣa mahābāhō śāstrē tubhyam namō namaḥ.

Aiyanār is thus specially revered as the god of hunting, and bears in Kurg the name of *Bete Ayyappa*, Lord-father of hunting; as Hill-god he is called *Male Deva*. See Kittel *loco citato*, p. 168.

[292] These wishes are expressed in the following prayers or mantras. "Ōm namō bhagavatē hariharaputrāya putralābhāya, śatrunāśāya (gaulīdōṣa-vināśāya) mādagajavāhanāya mahāśāstāya namaḥ."

Another mantra runs as follows: "Asya śrīmahāśāstamantrasya Rudra ṛṣiḥ, Anuṣṭup chandaḥ, Mahāśāstā dēvatā. . . .

Mama sarvābhiṣṭasiddhayē viniyōgaḥ. Ṣaḍaṅgam, Hariharaputrāya hṛdayāya namaḥ, arthalābhāya putralābhāya śirasē svāhā, śatrunāśāya śikhāyai vaṣaṭ, sarvastrīmōhanāya kavacāya hum, madagajaturaṅgavāhanāya nētratrayāya vauṣat, mahāśāstāya hum phaṭ svāhā astrāya phaṭ."

The meaning of this prayer is: "Of this mantra of the great Śāsta Rudra is the Ṛṣi, Anuṣṭup the metre, Mahāśāsta the dēvatā. . . .

"Application for securing all my wishes. Allocation in the six limbs. With *Hariharaputrāya* "namaḥ" to the heart, with *arthalābhāya putralābhāya* "svāhā" to the head, with *śatrunāśāya* "vaṣaṭ" to the hair-tuft, with *sarvastrīmōhanāya* "hum" by laying the hands across, with *madagajaturaṅgavāhanāya* "vauṣaṭ" to the three eyes, with *mahāśāstāya* "hum phaṭ svāhā" with clapping the hands."

Each mantra is divided into six portions, each of which is as a rule located in a different limb of the body, rarely in some parts of the hands, these locations are respectively called aṅganyāsa and karanyāsa, they are heart, head, hair-tuft, laying hands on the upper arms, three eyes and hand-clapping. The same mantra runs in its abbreviated form as follows: "Om aim hrim saum klīm srīm hrīm hrim klim hariharaputrāya arthalābhāya putralabhāya śatrunāśāya sarvastrīmōhanāya madagajaturaṅgavāhanāya mahāśāstāya namaḥ."

with, Khaṇḍōba and the Brahmabhūta,[293] who like him on horseback pursue the demons sword in hand and do manifold good to men. As protector of fields, or Kṣētrapāla, Bhairava is mistaken for him, because, in spite of being occasionally styled Kṣētrapāl., Bhairava's protection is in reality only confined to the temples and their property. On the other hand, if we admit that *Śiva* and *Aiyanār* are identical, there is no difficulty in extending this identity to the avatāras of Śiva, *i.e.*, to *Vīrabhadra* and *Bhairava*,[294] who are often identified with Aiyanār. Vīrabhadra[295] is styled Śāsta as

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[293] See *above*, pp. 157, 298, No. 16, 304. Dr. Wilhelm Germann has in the edition of *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 155, 156, already alluded to a connexion between Khaṇḍōba and Aiyanār.

[294] This mantra is addressed to Aiyanār as Bhairava, who is called kṣētrapāla and instead of Hariharaputra *śivakēśavanandana*: "Kṣētrapālamantraḥ. Ōm namaḥ kṣētrapālasya āpaduddhārakasya śivakēśavanandanasya paramēśvararūpasya nilamēghasya mahābhairavasya triśūladamarukadharāya śaṅkhacakradharāya kapālamālāsikapāladharāya śākiniḍākinībhūtapiśācaparayantraparamantrākṣasagandharvaśvapacārakrūragrahatāṭakēya karkōṭakakēśavandrikābhaya kumāramuṣṭakhaṭvāṅgadharasya mama sarvaśatrusaṁharaṇasya hrām hrīm hrūm hraim hraum, hram pi hum phaṭ svāhā."

The following stanza is addressed to Kālabhairava:

Kapālamālikākāntam jvalatpāvakalōcanam
kapāladharam atyugram kalayē Kālabhairavam.

Eight forms of Bhairava are mentioned, viz., asitāṅga-, candracūḍa- or rudra-, kāla-, kapāla- or tāmracūḍa, krōdha-, mahā-, ruru-, saṁhārabhairava.

In his eighth form as Krōdhabhairava he became the kṣētrapāla Aiyanār:

Krōdhēnānēna vai bālaḥ kṣētrāṇām rakṣakō'bhavat
mūrtayō'ṣṭau ca tasyāpi kṣētrapālasya dhīmataḥ.

[295] The stanzas referring to Aiyanār or Śāsta in his Sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa condition are as follows. In the Sāttvika condition he is called Vīrabhadra:

1. Sōmkāram dēvamūlam jitaripubahalam śyāmalam Vīrabhadram
Khaṭkāram vyōmakēśam ghaṇighaṇininadam khaḍgakhēṭāgrahastam
Kuṅkāram bhīrunādam hutavahanayanam dahyamānākhilāṁśam
Phaṭkāram vajradaṁṣṭram praṇataripujanaprāṇaharantāram īḍē.

possessing the quality of goodness or of *sattva*, while Bhairava is distinctly designated as the son of Śiva and Viṣṇu. When identified with Vīrabhadra and Bhairava, Aiyanār appears in his dark or angry nature, corresponding to the dark element in Śiva's character. Aiyanār occupies his proper position as Kṣētrapāla, in so far as the Grāmadevatā is also a Kṣētradēvatā. It was natural for the Brahmanic priesthood, in its own interests, to destroy the influence the ancient non-Aryan gods still exercised over the masses, and the best means to effect this purpose was to heap disgrace on those deities, and to vilify them in the eyes of the faithful. With this object in view, they invented a disgusting account of the incestuous origin of Aiyanār.

There lived once in ancient times a demon Bhasmāsura, who by his fervent penance had gained the favor of Īśvara and obtained from him the boon that whatever he might touch with his hand should be turned to ashes. On receiving this power, the demon tried to test it on Śiva himself, who running away hid himself in a flower which was growing in a tank, and thence prayed to Viṣṇu to rescue him. On this Viṣṇu appeared before Bhasmāsura in the form of Mōhinī, a beautiful, enticing woman, and inflamed his mind to such a degree, that in his passion he lost all control over his senses. At last the virgin consented to submit to him, if the giant would previously bathe himself in the water of the neighbouring pond and then clean and rub oil with his hand on his head. Bhasmāsura in his infatuation did so, and was reduced to ashes as soon as his hand touched

2. Śāntam śāradacandrakhaṇḍadhavalam candrābhirāmānanam
canorārkōpalakāntakuṇḍaladharam candrāvadātāṁśukam
vīṇāpustakam akṣasūtravalayam vyākhyānamudrām karair
bibhrāṇam kalayē sadā hṛdi mahāśāstam suvāksiddhayē.

3. Tējōmaṇḍalamadhyagam trinayanam divyāmbarālaṅkṛtam
dēvam puṣpaśarēkṣukārmukalasanmāṇikyapātrābhayān
bibhrāṇam karapaṅkajair madagajaskandhādhirūḍham mahā-
śāstāram śaraṇam bhajāmi varadam trailōkyasammōhanam.

his head. Immediately afterwards Śiva became acquainted with the destruction of his pursuer, left his hiding place in the flower, and requested Viṣṇu, who told him what had happened, to assume again the body of Mōhinī. Viṣṇu did so, and found himself a prey to the uncontrollable passion of Śiva. The result of this incestuous connexion between Hari and Hara, was, so say the Brāhmans, Aiyanār, who is therefore also called the son of Hari and Hara, or Harihara-putra. The pedantic Paṇḍits of the Tamil country go so far as to contend that the real name of Aiyanār was *Kai-yanār*, he having been born in the *kai*, or hand of Viṣṇu.

The image of Aiyanār is generally found at the junction of two roads, as according to popular belief he wants to learn from way-farers about the peculiar position in which he stands in regard to his mother; for Viṣṇu being a male deity cannot be called his mother, nor can Pārvatī be his mother, as she did not give him birth.

The name *Harihara* occurs frequently in the modern dynasty of the Vijayanagara kings, who attempted to unite to a certain extent Vaiṣṇavism with Śaivism, but this circumstance is in no way connected with the subject of this enquiry. The existence of Aiyanār is an intrinsic portion of the ancient Gauda-Dravidian belief, and long antecedent to the Brahmanic story of his alleged origin. Though the names of Aiyanār and Śāsta do not occur in all parts of India he is, as Lord of the Ghosts, revered by the non-Aryan aborigines under one designation or another all over the country. In the northern portion of the Madras Presidency, especially among the Telugu people, his worship appears to be merged into that of Vēṅkaṭēśa, whose name indicates a connexion with the Veṅka or Veṅkaṭa tribe, and which must not be explained, as proposed by some Paṇḍits, to signify *vēṅ kaṭayati*, he purifies sin.

There is hardly a village in the south of Southern India which does not possess one temple dedicated to Aiyanār,

Most of these shrines are of small dimensions and stand in a lonely place to the west of the village surrounded by lofty trees. The prettiest spots are generally chosen for the sites of such shrines among shady trees near a flowing brook. In woods and forests a stone alone indicates at times the abode of Aiyanār, and from such stones sounds are said to arise and to scare the neighbourhood. Clay figures—of large and small size—representing horses, elephants, buffaloes, dogs and other animals or objects are arranged in rows under the shade of trees, representing the gifts of pious devotees, who when they or their families were ill or in distressed circumstances, vowed to dedicate such offerings to Aiyanār. The promises made to him are various and occasionally rather peculiar.

In times of drought the villagers assemble and raise a subscription for a service in honour of Aiyanār. Rice is collected from every house, and on a Wednesday orders are issued to the potters to make life-size horses, occasionally also horses with riders on their back, or life-size armed soldiers. When the potter has prepared all these figures, the villagers go in procession with drums beating to the house of the potter, and carry those figures to the temple of Aiyanār, which is generally two miles distant from the village, near the boundary stone. A richly decorated and well-attired matron carries in front of the procession a vessel full of sweet toddy on her head. This procession is called in Tamil *Pari aḍuppu*, and the vessel *Madukkuḍam*. The Pūjāris are generally potters. Offerings of food, fruits, &c., are then made, and the worshippers take their midday meals, irrespective of caste. The people have great confidence that Aiyanār will be gracious, and grant them their wish, which also often happens.

In some parts of the country, when a child is stricken with a dangerous disease, the parents make a vow, to carry

it in procession round the village suspended from a hook which is fixed in his back. This hook is called in Kanarese *Siḍi*, and Aiyanār goes in consequence by the name of *Siḍivīran*.

At the gates of these temples stand two gigantic guardians, *Munnaḍiyūr*, of formidable and hideous shape: they wear crowns on their heads and carry stout sticks in their hands. They resemble devils in their appearance, and have lion-fangs projecting from their mouths. The front portion of the temple is occupied by the seven mothers, who are also worshipped.[296] Two images of Vighnēśvara generally stand inside, one on each side of the door. In the inner hall sits Aiyanār between his two wives, *Pūrṇā* and *Puṣkalā*, in Tamil called Pūraṇai and Puṭkalai,[297] and round them stand in the corridor the seven virgins or *Kannimār*, who are occasionally worshipped, especially on Wednesdays and Saturdays, when the crops on dry lands are suffering from blight.[298] In another building at the side of the temple in a sort of vault are kept the wooden images of horses, elephants, birds, demons and other creatures on which Aiyanār and his wives are carried about in procession on festival days.

When not riding, Aiyanār is generally represented in a sitting posture as a red-skinned man. On his head he wears a crown; on his forehead are painted the three white lines of the Vibhūti; in his tuft-like locks hang strings of

[296] *Ziegenbalg* gives on p. 150 their names as Trikarāśūri, Māyākaraśūrī, Raktacāmuṇḍā, Vanacāriṇī (Kāṭṭēri), Bhagavatī, Bālaśakti, and Bhuvanaśakti.

[297] In this mantra occur the names of the two wives of Aiyanār: Ēkōnacatvārimśadakṣarō mantraḥ. Pūrṇāpuṣkalāmbāsamētaśrīhariharaputrāya namaḥ.

[298] See p. 106, Note 100. The villagers join on such occasions in a Picnic *Samārādhanai*, anoint the Kannimār, a woman possessed with them begins to dance, and animals are sacrificed.

pearls, which adorn also his ears and his neck; and on his chest he wears a sort of decoration. Ornaments also cover his arms, hands, feet and even his waist. As an emblem of his royal dignity he carries a sceptre in his hand. A girdle, *Vākuppaṭṭai*, encircles his waist and his left leg; flowers hang from his shoulders; the upper part of his body is naked; while a gay-coloured garment surrounds his lower extremities.

Two or three times a day are sacrifices presented to Aiyanār. These take the form either of libations, or of offerings of food, or of burnt sacrifices, and are accompanied by special prayers and ceremonies. Gifts consisting of spirituous liquor, or of animals, such as pigs, goats, cocks and other creatures, are also presented to Aiyanār, such animals being beheaded on the altar outside his temple. These bloody and spirituous offerings are made by Śūdra priests or Paṇḍārams without the participation of Brāhmans who, however, perform the bloodless and purer ritual. In fact, as previously mentioned, two sides, a bright and a dark one, are distinguishable in the worship of Aiyanār.

Besides these daily services a special festival in honor of Aiyanār is held once a year in every village. This feast, which has no fixed date, falls mostly either after the first or second harvest, and lasts from seven to nine days. The villagers carry the figures of Aiyanār and his two wives through the streets, both in the morning and in the evening. Every inhabitant is bound to contribute towards the expenses according to his means, and to offer to Aiyanār special sacrifices in the shape of cooked rice, eatables, drink, or animals. Aiyanār and his wives are then praised for the protection and assistance they have granted during the past year, and the continuation of his favour is requested for the ensuing year.

Aiyanār is known by various names such as the warrior of

a sacred crown, *Tirumuḍisēvakar;* the good warrior, *Nallasēvakar;* the god who lives outside the village, *Puṟattavan;* the beautiful sea-coloured, *Pūṅkaḍalvaṇṇan;* the Lord, *Śāttān;* the husband of Pūraṇai, *Pūraṇaikēḻvan;* the husband of Puṭkalai, *Puṭkalaimaṇāḷan;* the ascetic, *Yōgi;* the stainless, *Orumāśattān;* one who has a fierce weapon, *Caṇḍāyudhan;* the venerable, *Ariyan;* the protector of virtue, *Arattaikkāppōn;* the rider on a white elephant, *Veḷḷaiyānaiyūrti;* the youth, *Kumāran;* the father (master), *Aiyan;* the son of Harihara, *Hariharaputtiran;* he who has a fowl in his flag, *Kōḻikkoḍiyōn;* etc.[299]

The two wives of Aiyanār, *Pūraṇai* and *Puṭkalai,* have yellow complexions. They wear crowns on their heads, in one hand they hold a flower, while the other hangs down empty. Besides this they have the usual ornaments. Pūraṇai wears on her forehead the black *Kastūri*-mark, while Puṭkalai is distinguished by the *Vibhūti,* the three holy white streaks (*Tirunīṟu* in Tamil). They sit on one leg, Pūraṇai on the left, and Puṭkalai on the right side of her husband, in whose duties and honors they participate.

With these remarks I finish this brief discussion on the position of the Grāmadēvatās and Aiyanār, a subject which is important enough to attract more attention than it has done hitherto, for these divinities represent the national deities of the non-Aryan population. Their worship has indeed been preserved, but it has been altered considerably owing to foreign influence, though not for the better.

On Bhūtas, or Fiends, Ghosts, and Devils.

Demoniac beings or *Bhūtas,*—be they Fiends, Ghosts or Devils, whether created as such from the beginning or at a subsequent period, and whether or not the restless spirits

[299] Compare *Ziegenbalg,* p. 152.

of the deceased,—frighten the minds and threaten the lives of mortals in this world. They exercise their baneful influence not only over rude barbarians, or credulous masses, but also over individuals otherwise sensible. Their existence is generally asserted, and their power supported by the wiles of subtle priestcraft. The various religious beliefs and philosophical systems, though agreeing on some vague points, have all their special dogmas or characteristic opinions on matters spiritual and demoniac. There are men who believe that they are in possession of the key which opens the door to the mysteries beyond human ken, but it is useless to systematize topics which appertain to speculation, and in which imagination occupies the place of reality.

The inventive genius of the Hindus has peopled the world with variously formed and differently endowed creatures, who derive their origin from divine sources. In the Amarakōśa, the well-known Sanskrit vocabulary, are enumerated as such the Vidyādharas,— Apsarases, Yakṣas, Rakṣases, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Piśācas, Guhyakas, Siddhas and Bhūtas.[300] Excepting the Rakṣases, Piśācas and Bhūtas, an inclination towards good is found prevailing in all of these, but in some Bhūtas there is an equal disposition towards good as towards evil, while the majority of Rakṣases are decidedly bad.

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[300] See *Amarakōśa*, I, 1, 1, 6:

Vidyādharō' psarō-Yakṣa-Rakṣō-Gandharva-Kinnarāḥ
Piśācō Guhyakaḥ Siddhō Bhūtō'mī dēvayōnayaḥ.

Compare also *Vaijayantī*, Yakṣādyadhyāya, 1—5:

1. Sparśānandāstvapsarasas sumadāśca ratēmadāḥ
svarvēśyāścātha khāṣēyō yakṣō'tha suragāyanaḥ;
2. Gandharvō gātugāndharvau siddhās syus sunakādayaḥ,
bhūtāputrās tu bhūtāni bhūtāśca śivapārśvagāḥ;
3. Kinnarās syuḥ kimpuruṣā mayavō'śvamukhāśca tē
guhyakā māṇicarayas tathā dēvajanās sutāḥ;
4. Vidyādharās tu dyucarāḥ khēcarās satyayauvanāḥ
piśācas syāt kāpiśēyō'nṛjur darvaśca piṇḍakaḥ;
5. Dēvayōnaya ētē syus svarvēśyādyās sarakṣasaḥ.

I have adopted the Sanskrit term *Bhūta* (being), as an expression that applies to all the different beings discussed in this chapter, as this term is indeed applicable to all, though it is in certain districts of Southern India only used in relation to a particular species of demons. For the sake of classification, I propose to divide these Bhūtas into three groups. Those who compose the first group, I call *Fiends*. They are endowed with superhuman powers, and possess material bodies of various kinds, which they can change as they list, and which are subject to destruction. As free agents, they can choose between good and evil, but a disposition towards evil preponderates in their character, as the examples of Rāvaṇa and Hiraṇyakaśipu, and the exceptions of Vibhīṣaṇa and Prahlāda sufficiently prove. The so-called Asuras, Dānavas, Daityas and Rākṣasas belong to this group. All these are personations either of the hostile powers of nature, or of mighty human foes, both which have been eventually converted into superhuman beings.

The second group consists of the *Ghosts* of those who once moved as living creatures in this world, but who, after having departed their mundane life, roam restlessly about, until they are united with the Supreme Spirit, and obtain Final Beatitude by complete absorption into it.

The third group consists of the *Devils* or Demons, who persecute, seduce and destroy mankind. These Demons are often divided into two classes, consisting of ruling and ministering spirits, who are specially known as Piśācas and Bhūtas.

The main object of this inquiry is to ascertain, if possible, the ethnological origin of these groups, and of the several members which constitute them. When this object has been achieved, and the difference between Aryan and non-Aryan demonology has been successfully defined, the later

development of both can be more easily understood, and the modifications, which the beliefs of both races underwent, can be traced with greater exactness. It is not possible, however, at this stage of our knowledge to arrive at a final decision on this subject, and all that can meanwhile be achieved is, to collect as much evidence as possible and to arrange the material in a lucid and at the same time accurate manner.

A. About Fiends.

Man-eating ogres and ogresses, formidable giants, treacherous gnomes, mischievous sprites, wicked elves *et hoc omne genus*, who delight in teasing and destroying men, are called fiends. In Sanskrit literature they appear especially as Dānavas, Daityas, Rākṣasas and Asuras. To this class may be added the evil sorcerers and wizards, known in the Vēda as *Yātus*, *Yātudhānas* and *Yātudhānīs*, with whom may be coupled the vile Kimīdins.[301] As I have already observed, some substantial basis, supplied by natural phenomena or events, underlies the assumption of the existence of these beings. In the Ṛgvēda we encounter them as Dānavas, or sons of Danu and Kaśyapa; as Daityas or sons of Diti and Kaśyapa, in contrast to the divine Ādityas, the sons of Diti's sister Aditi and of Kaśyapa; as Asuras and as Dāsas or Dasyus, the human foes of the Aryan invaders.

The principal of the Dānavas, of whom there are seven, is *Vṛtra*, who is called the ancestor of the dragons, *prathamajā ahīnām*. He opposes suffering mankind, and is feared by all the gods, whom he openly defies. He keeps back and steals the heavenly waters, *i.e.*, he prevents them from coming down as rain, and for this offence Indra destroys him with his thunderbolt.[302] *Vala*, cave (in which the

[301] Compare *Ṛgvēda*, 1, 35, 10; VII, 1, 5, etc., and VII, 104, 2; X, 87, 24.
[302] See *Ṛgvēda*, 1, 32, 3, 4, 9; II, 11, 18; X, 120, 6.

rain-cows are confined), is the name of another demon, who is in later works called the brother of Vṛtra.[303] Besides these are mentioned in the Ṛgvēda the Dānava *Aurṇavābha*, the handless *Kunāra* who was crushed by Indra; *Kuyava* who causes bad harvests and whose two young wives (*yōṣī*) bathe in milk and ought to be drowned; the blaspheming *Kuyavāk;* the demon *Jarūtha* whom Agni killed; *Rauhiṇa* who ascended into heaven and whom Indra tore into pieces; *Rudhikra* who was likewise destroyed by Indra; *Viśiśipra* who was vanquished by Manu and others.[304]

Anarśani, Namuci, Pipru, Śambara, Ṣṛbinda, Śuṣṇa, and the Dāsa *Vṛṣaśipra,* who practised the magic arts and was slain by Indra, are probably prototypes of non-Aryan foes.[305]

A female fiend *Arāyī* is also frequently mentioned in the Vēda. She is described as ugly, one-eyed and hipped. She kills the fœtus in the womb and hates Indra.[306]

It is needless to remark that the Atharvaṇavēda contains much fuller information about these fiends, and the means of rendering harmless their diabolical machinations by the use of efficacious charms and mantras. Demons insidiously try to inflict injury (*druh*), or hurt (*rakṣas*). *Druh,* when personified, moves in darkness, gets hold of the villain, hates Indra, and finds its slayer in Bṛhaspati, who preserves truth and the sacrifice.[307] *Rakṣas* is connected with all that is bad and objectionable; it is impure, pernicious

[303] See *above*, p. 15, Note 11.

[304] See *Ṛgvēda*, II, 11, 18; VIII, 32, 26, 66, 2; III, 30, 8; I, 103, 8; I, 104. 3; I, 174, 7; I, 103, 8, 104, 3; VII, 1, 7; II, 12, 12; II, 14, 5; and V, 45, 6.

[305] See *Ṛgvēda*, VIII, 32, 2; II, 14, 5; I, 51, 5; VII, 99, 5; I, 33, 12; I, 103, 8; and VII, 99, 4.

[306] See *Ṛgvēda*, X, 155.

[307] See *Ṛgvēda*, I, 133, 1; II, 30, 9; III, 31, 19; IV, 23, 7, etc. Compare *Der Rigveda* von Alfred Ludwig, III, pp. 338, 339.

and base.[308] Both engender mischief, and gods as well as men must fight against *druh* and *rakṣas* in order to destroy them. Asuras and Rākṣasas are eventually regarded as beings who particularly practise *druh* and *rakṣas*, and whose nature is so undefined, that no difference is made between them and men. Indeed just as the character of human beings varies, so also does theirs vary, and they are, according to their pleasure, hostile or friendly, malevolent or benevolent. Occupying a position midway between gods and men, the fiends possess like both of them bodies adequate to their condition, bodies which partake of the ethereal elements of the deities and of the earthly elements of human beings. Among themselves the fiends differ in size and shape, some of them possessing the power to assume whatever form they desire. Like gods and men they share in the three qualities, and like men they are also subject to the laws of transmigration.

The term *Asura*, from *asu*, life (root *as*, to live), applies in the Ṛgvēda principally to Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, but also to other gods as Pūṣan, Rudra, Savitṛ, Sōma and the Maruts.[309] In the tenth Maṇḍala it is, however, already used in the sense of impious demon, and as such, *e.g.*, applied to Pipru.[310] When the Vedic gods were in course of time thoroughly displaced, a fixed distinction was made between Gods and Asuras, and a separate creation assigned to both, the Gods being created by the mouth, and the Asuras by the lower breath of Prajāpati.[311] The Viṣṇupurāṇa relates that Brahman created the Asuras while he was pervaded with darkness, and that they, his firstborn, proceeded from his thigh. When the darkness which developed into

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[308] See *Ṛgvēda*, I, 12, 5; VI, 16, 29, etc.

[309] Compare *above*, p. 275.

[310] Compare *Ṛgvēda*, X, 138, 3.

[311] See *above*, p. 281.

night had deserted him, he became pleased, and from his mouth issued the Gods, endowed with goodness. In consequence of these facts, the Asuras prevail at night and the Gods during daytime.[312] In the account of the creation contained in the Mānavadharmaśāstra, the Asuras sink to a lower depth, for they were created by seven Manus, the offspring of the ten Prajāpatis, together with the Yakṣas, Rakṣases, Piśācas, Gandharvas, Apsarases, Nāgas, Serpents, winged Birds and Pitṛs, after the Gods and the Maharṣis or great sages.[313]

The Asuras, Dānavas and Daityas are engaged in continual fight with the Dēvas, and their repeated attempts to thrust the Gods from their thrones, resemble the efforts which the Titans made to defeat the Olympians.[314] The Gods, however, did not always employ fair means to ensure victory, but had recourse to mean tricks. At the churning of the ocean, the Dēvas required the assistance of the Daityas, and in order to obtain it, promised them an equal share of the Nectar or *Amṛta* which would be produced from the agitated sea. The serpent Vāsuki was wound like a cord round the mountain Mandara, the Gods headed by Kṛṣṇa being stationed at the tail, the Daityas and Dānavas at the

[312] See Viṣṇupurāṇa, I, 5, 28—32:

29. Yuktātmanas tamōmātrā udriktābhūt prajāpatēḥ
sisṛkṣōr jaghanāt pūrvam asurā jajñirē tataḥ.
36. Sisṛkṣur anyadēhasthaḥ prītim āpa tatas surāḥ
sattvōdriktāḥ samudbhūtā mukhatō brahmaṇō dvija.
32. Tyaktā sāpi tanus tēna sattvaprāyam abhūd dinam
tatō hi balinō rātrāvasurā dēvatā divā.

[313] See *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, I, 37:

Yakṣarakṣaḥpiśācāṁśca gandharvāpsarasō' surān
nāgān sarpān suparṇāṁśca pitṝṇām ca pṛthag gaṇān.

[314] In the *Amarakōśa*, I, 1, 1, 7, the Asuras are styled:

Asurā Daitya-Daitēya-Danujēndrāri-Dānavāḥ
Śukraśiṣyā Ditisutāḥ Pūrvadēvāḥ Suradviṣaḥ;

and in the *Vaijayantī*, Yakṣādyadhyāya, p. 15, lines 18, 19:

Asurā Dānavā Daityā Daitēyā Dēvaśatravaḥ,
Pūrvadēvāś Śukraśiṣyā Rasāgēhā Haridviṣaḥ.

head. The latter in consequence were stifled by the fiery fumes emitted from the mouth of the serpent, while the Gods were refreshed by the pleasant showers descending from the clouds. When Dhanvantari appeared with the Amṛta cup in his hands, the Daityas tried to snatch it from him, but Viṣṇu assuming the shape of a beautiful woman, fascinated them and secured the Amṛta for the Gods. They drank it, and through this invigorating draught they were enabled to resist the onslaught of the enraged Daityas and to hurl them to Pātāla.[3 1 5] As the Daityas had refused the Surā or Vāruṇī, *i.e.*, the goddess of wine, while the Gods had accepted her, the latter, so goes this version, were styled *Suras*, and the former *Asuras*.

The number of the Asuras is continually increasing, and the stories about them become more complicated and wonderful in course of time. It is indeed not difficult to perceive that a foreign element, a love of marvels and terrors, has joined the Aryan stock, and that these miraculous legends are the product of combined Aryan and non-Aryan conceptions. The simple stories of the Vedic period have given place to elaborate descriptions, manifesting the change which has come over the religious and ethnological constitution of the population. As a plain example of this fact, I quote only the remarkable accounts about Asuras, which are contained in the Āsurakāṇḍa, of the Śivarahasya-khaṇḍa, a portion of the Śaṅkarasaṁhitā of the Skānda-purāṇa. One such story will, I believe, suffice to prove this assertion.

The Maharṣi *Kaśyapa* became through his wife Diti, the father of sixty-four crores of Daityas, the natural enemies of the Gods or Ādityas, the sons of Kaśyapa and Aditi. *Asurēndra* was the chief of these Daityas, who married

[3 1 5] See *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 1, 9, 80—109.

Maṅgalakēśī. Their daughter *Surasā* was educated by *Śukrācārya*, the instructor of the Daityas. As she proved herself a very apt pupil and became thoroughly versed in all the arts and sciences which he taught, he conferred on her, as an honour, the name *Māyā* and resolved to make use of her to further his designs which aimed at the restoration of the waning power of the Asuras. In order to gain this object, he induced Māyā to approach Kaśyapa and to obtain from him offspring, able to fight and subdue the Gods. Won over to his plans she repaired to the banks of the Ganges, where by her incantations she created a most beautiful pleasure garden near the place where Kaśyapa was undergoing his penance, and as soon as he opened his eyes, he beheld her and fell in love with her. But she did not intend to yield so easily to Kaśyapa. Therefore, after informing him that she did not want to be disturbed, as she had come hither from Mount Mēru for the sake of her penance, she disappeared so suddenly, that Kaśyapa in his excitement fell into a swoon. Māyā at last consented to remain with Kaśyapa, if he would agree to assume whatever form she pleased. This he did, and *Śūrapadmāsura* was the result of her first connection in the first *Yāma*, besides 30,000 Daityas who were produced from her perspiration. The child of the second was *Siṁhavaktra*, or *Tāraka*, who had 1,000 faces and 2,000 arms, and was born when both had assumed the shape of lions. Together with *Siṁhavaktrāsura* appeared 40,000 Daityas. The third time, both becoming elephants, *Gajamukha* was born with another 40,000 Daityas, and at last in sheep form was born the female Demon *Ajāmukhī*. After changing their forms for some time longer into tigers, cows, pigs, etc., and producing various other Asuras and two hundred thousand Daityas, they re-assumed again their original shape. When Śūrapadmāsura consulted Kaśyapa as to what he should do, the father of the Gods advised him to obtain through severe penance

the favor of Śambhu. At the suggestion of his mother he performed Vīrayāga with his brothers at Vaṭadvīpa, in order to acquire wealth and power; while she also imparted to them all that she had learnt from Śukrācārya. They then made a sacrifice which lasted for 10,000 years, on a piece of ground measuring 10,000 yōjanas. Śūrapadma sacrificed at the chief pit which extended over 1,000 yōjanas, while Siṁhavaktra offered oblations at the 108 surrounding pits; but this sacrifice was not graciously accepted by the deity, until Śūrapadma cut his own body into pieces and threw them into the fire. Śūrapadma then conquered the whole world, all the gods included, except Śiva. Not content with his victory, he maltreated the gods in such a shameful manner that they could no longer bear the indignities heaped upon them, and applied to Śiva for redress.[316]

As Mahēśvara thought that the Gods had been sufficiently punished for their previous misbehaviour, because Śūrapadmāsura had with Śiva's consent subjected and tormented them for a hundred and eight yugas, he permitted his son Ṣaṇmukha or Subrahmaṇya to take the field against the Asuras. The cause of Śiva's grudge against the Gods was

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[316] The creation of the nine Kanyās from the nine gems of Pārvatī's anklet is connected with this incident. For when the Gods rushed in despair into Śiva's room, he was seated there with Pārvatī, and when, scared she got up in haste, nine gems fell out from her anklet. On looking at them, Śiva saw that they reflected her own image, and this so fascinated him that he caused the gems to approach him, which they did in the form of beautiful ladies. This proceeding, however, aroused the jealousy of Pārvatī, who invoked a curse on them that they should remain *garbhiṇī*, i.e., pregnant, without bringing forth children. In their agitation brought on by this curse, the nine Kanyās produced through their perspiration innumerable Gaṇas. At last Pārvatī took pity on their miserable condition, removed the curse, and they were delivered of nine heroes. The names of these nine Kanyās and their nine sons were respectively: 1. Ratnavallī and Vīrabāhu, 2. Taralavallī and Vīrakēsarin, 3. Pauṣivallī and Vīramahēndra, 4. Gōmēdhavallī and Vīramahēśvara, 5. Vaiḍūryavallī and Vīrapurandara, 6. Vajravallī and Vīrarākṣasa, 7. Marakatavallī and Vīramartaṇḍa, 8. Pravālavallī and Vīrāntaka, 9. Nīlavallī and Vīradhīra.

that they all had attended the sacrifice of Dakṣa, to which he had not been invited, and he revenged himself on the Gods, by creating for their subjugation these numberless Asuras and Daityas. The boon which Śūrapadmāsura had obtained was, that he should not be conquered by any existing creature or god, nay not even by Śiva himself, or, as he is called, by the five-faced or *Pañcamukha*. As Śiva could not break his promise, he created Subrahmaṇya or *Ṣaṇmukha*, the six-faced, and thus accomplished the destruction of the Asuras without breaking his word to Simhamukhāsura. At the request of Śiva, Brahman created as many Bhūtas as could be accommodated within 1,000 yōjanas. With these myriads of troops, who were joined by the 330 millions of Gods and 100,000 heroes, Subrahmaṇya was able to destroy the Asuras. To give an idea of the number of warriors who followed Subrahmaṇya, it is said that the seven seas were dried up by their marching and that the sun and the moon were covered with dust.[317] The campaign of Subrahmaṇya put a final stop to the power of the Daityas.

Together with the Asuras are generally mentioned the Rākṣasas. They are described as cruel, deceitful, men-eating ogres, who roam about at nights and use witchcraft to deceive their opponents and to obtain their object.[318]

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[317] It is said that the God of the seas complained to Subrahmaṇya about this hardship, but the manner in which the latter redressed this well-founded charge does not bear repeating.

[318] See *Amarakōśa*, 1, 1, 1, 55, 56:

55. Rākṣasaḥ kauṇapaḥ kravyāt kravyādō'srapa āśaraḥ
rātriñcarō rātricaraḥ karburō nikaṣātmajaḥ

56. Yātudhānaḥ puṇyajanō nairṛtō yāturakṣasī;

and *Vaijayantī*, Lōkapālādhyāya, p. 12, śl. 40, 41.:

40. Atha rakṣāṁsi yātūni rākṣasā alalōhitāḥ
rātriñcarā rātricarāḥ kravyātkravyādanairṛtāḥ,

41. Kaikaśēyā yatudhānāḥ puruṣādāḥ pravāhikāḥ
anuṣā vidhurā raktagrahāś śaṅkava āśarāḥ.

Rāvaṇa, son of Viśravas and grandson of Brahman, is regarded as the chief representative of the Rākṣasas. He is the powerful foe of Rāma, son of Daśaratha, and the Rāmāyaṇa contains a full account of his greatness and defeat. He is as much abhorred by the Brāhmans, as he is esteemed by their foes, the Jains, and though some Hindus declare Rāvaṇa to have originally been a Brāhman, who was for his iniquity cursed so as to be reborn a Rākṣasa, he may with greater probability be regarded as the real representative of the original inhabitants of this country.[319]

The Vāyupurāṇa regards them as descendants of Rakṣas, son of Kaśyapa and Khaśā. The meaning of the word Rakṣas which has above been given as *hurt*, is elsewhere in the Purāṇas derived from the word *rakṣ*, to protect. According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa, the Rākṣasas, tormented at their creation by excruciating hunger, appealed to Brahman to preserve them from starvation,[320] while the Bhāgavatapurāṇa contends that the Rākṣasas deranged by hunger, attacked together with the Yakṣas Brahman who had assumed a nightlike body, and that the Creator cried out to them not to eat, but to protect him.[321]

The dwelling places of the Dānavas, Daityas, Yakṣas, Nāgas and similar beings are the seven regions of Pātāla, or lower world, known as Atala, Vitala, Nitala, Gabhastimat,

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[319] See *above* pp. 87—89, 136—138, 184, 185, 375—378, 502.

[320] See p. 517; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, I, 5, 40:

40. Kṣutkṣāmānanadhakārē' tha sō' sṛjad bhagavāṁstataḥ
virūpāḥ śmaśrulā jātās tē' bhyadhāvanta tam prabhum.
41. Maivam bhō rakṣyatām ēṣa yair uktam rākṣasās tu tē.

[321] See *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, III, 20, 18—20:

18. Visasarjātmanaḥ kāyam nābhyanandaṁstamōmayam
jagṛhur Yakṣarakṣāṁsi rātrim kṣuttṛtsamudbhavām,
19. Kṣuttṛḍbhyām upasṛṣṭās tē tam jagdhum abhidudruvuḥ
mā rakṣatainam jakṣadhvam ityūcuḥ kṣuttṛḍarditāḥ.
20. Dēvas tān āha saṁvignō mā mām jakṣata rakṣata
ahō mē yakṣarakṣāṁsi prajā yūyaṁ babhūvitha.

Mahātala, Sutala and Pātāla according to the Viṣṇupurāṇa. The Pātāla is by no means a doleful abode. The sage Nārada declared after returning from it, that it was far more pleasant than the heaven of Indra. It is richly adorned with beautiful woods, streams and lakes covered with lotus. The melodious songs of birds resound in the air, mingled with the strains of musical instruments, fragrant perfumes pervade the air, which is lighted but not heated in the day by the rays of the sun, while the moon imparts light without coldness during the night. The beautiful daughters of the Dānavas and Daityas who reside in splendid palaces, enliven these worlds, whose soil is respectively white, black, red, yellow, gravelly, stony and golden.[322] If we now take

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[322] The names of these seven worlds are variously given: see *above*, p. 301, Note 19.

Compare Viṣṇupurāṇa, II, 5, 1:—

1. Vistāra ēṣa kathitaḥ pṛthivyā bhavatō mayā
saptatis tu sahasrāṇi dvijōcchrāyō'pi kathyatē.
2. Daśasāhasram ēkaikam pātālam munisattama
Atalam Vitalañ caiva Nitalañca Gabhastimat,
3. Mahākhyam Sutalañ cagryam pātālañcāpi saptamam
śuklāḥ kṛṣṇāruṇāḥ pītaśarkarāḥ śailakāñcanāḥ.
4. Bhūmayō yatra Maitrēya svaraprāsādaśōbhitāḥ
tēṣu Dānavadaitēyajātayaḥ satatasaṅghaśaḥ.
5. Nivasanti mahānāgajātayaśca mahāmunē
svarlōkād api ramyāṇi Pātālānīti Nāradaḥ
6. Prāha svargasadām madhyē Pātālēbhyō gatō divam
āhlādakāriṇaḥ śubhrā manayō yatra suprabhāḥ
7. Nānābharaṇabhūṣāstu Pātālam kēna tatsamam
Daityadānavakanyābhir itaścētaśca śōbhitē,
8. Pātālē kasya na pritir vimuktasyāpi jāyatē
Divārkaraśmayō yatra prabhām tanvanti nātapam,
9. Śaśinaśca na śītāya niśi dyōtāya kēvalam
bhakṣyabhōjyamahāpānamuditair atiśōbhibhiḥ
10. Yatra na jñāyatē kālō gatōpi Danujādibhiḥ
vanāni nadyō ramyāṇi sarāṁsi kamalākarāḥ
11. Puṁskōkilānām lāpāśca manōjñānyambarāṇi ca
bhūṣaṇāni ca ramyāṇi gandhāḍhyañ cānulēpanam
12. Vīṇāvēṇumṛdaṅgānām nādais tūryāṇi ca dvija
ētānyanyāni cōdārabhāgyabhōgyāni dānavaiḥ.

a retrospect of this subject, I believe it will be admitted that the Asuras, Rākṣasas and other fiendish demons owe their existence primarily to the imagination of Aryan minds, but that the non-Aryan element of the Indian population contributed afterwards considerably to the further development and boundless enlargement of the number, activity, and power of these fiends.

B. About Ghosts.

Under Ghosts I understand here the spirits of the departed. There is hardly a human being in existence, who even if he regards this earthly life as ending with death and not followed by an here-after, has not at some time considered what may become of him, after he has shuffled off his mortal coil. The ancient Aryans of India though delighting in the pleasures of sublunar life, could not shut their eyes to the stern necessity of leaving it. Birth and death are inseparably connected, and death's companion (*mṛtyubandhu*) is man. As every one must relinquish this life, one should leave it as late as possible, after having enjoyed it for the longest possible time, *i.e.*, for a period of at least one hundred years. The hymns of the Ṛgvēda prefer in consequence the breaths of air in this world to the still features of death and to the uncertain fate of the next life. Death however, cannot be avoided, and the dead must be disposed of. In the earliest stages of Aryan society these eventualities had been taken into consideration. Both burying and burning the dead were generally resorted to, and a distinction is made between burnt (*agnidagdha*), and unburnt (*anagnidagdha*; see *Ṛgvēda*, X, 15, 11, 14),

13. Daityōragaiśca bhujyantē Pātālāntaragōcaraiḥ;
pātalānāṁ adhaś cāstē viṣṇōr yā tāmasī tanuḥ.

Besides other Purāṇas see *Garuḍapurāṇa*, I, 57, whose third ślōka differs in the description of Pātāla:

3. Kṛṣṇā śuklāruṇā pītā śarkarā śailakāñcanā
bhūmayas tatra daitēyā vasanti ca bhujaṅgamāḥ.

or buried Manes.[323] Besides these the Atharvaṇavēda (XVIII, 2, 34) mentions two other Manes, calling them *parōpta* and *uddhita*.[324] In various hymns of the Ṛgvēda we find allusions to these ceremonials, as well as lengthy descriptions of the proceedings observed on such occasions. Professor von Roth has in the treatise quoted above given with annotations a classical German translation of the 18th hymn of the 10th Maṇḍala of the Ṛgvēda, which describes most probably the burial of a Kṣatriya. As it is a very important and significant hymn, I give it in the English translation of Mr. R. T. H. Griffith:[325]

1. "Go hence, O Death, pursue thy special pathway
apart from that which gods are wont to travel.
To thee I say it who hast eyes and hearest; touch
not our offspring, injure not our heroes.
2. As ye have come effacing Mṛityu's footstep, to
farther times prolonging your existence,
May ye be rich in children and possessions, cleansed,
purified, and meet for sacrificing.
3. Divided from the dead are these, the living; now
is our calling on the gods successful,
We have come forth for dancing and for laughter,
to farther times prolonging our existence.
4. Here I erect this rampart for the living; let none
of these, none other, reach this limit.
May they survive a hundred lengthened autumns,
and may they bury Death beneath this mountain.
5. As the days follow days in close succession, as with
the seasons duly come the seasons,

[323] See Jacob Grimm *Ueber das Verbrennen der Leichen*, Berl. Acad., 1849; G. Roth *Die Todtenbestattung im indischen Alterthum*, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. VIII, 467—475; Max Müller *Die Todtenbestattung bei den Brahmanen*, *ibidem* Vol. IX, I—LXXXII; Albrecht Weber *Eine Legende des Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa über die strafende Vergeltung nach dem Tode*, *ibidem*, pp. 237—243; Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts* V, 284 ff; and Heinrich Zimmer *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 400—422.

[324] See *Atharvaṇavēda*, XVIII, 2, 34:

34. Yē nikhātā yē parōptā yē' dagdhā yē cōddhitāḥ
sarvāṁstān agna ā vaha pitṝn haviṣē attavē.

[325] See *The Hymns of the Rigveda* translated by Ralph T. H. Griffith, Vol. IV, pp. 137—139.

As each successor fails not his foregoer, so form the
lives of these, O great Ordainer.

6. Live your full lives and find old age delightful, all of
you striving one behind the other.
May Twashtar, maker of fair things, be gracious,
and lengthen out the days of your existence.

7. Let those unwidowed dames with noble husbands
adorn themselves with fragrant balm and unguent.
Decked with fair jewels, tearless, free from sorrow,
first let the matrons pass into their houses.

8. Rise, come unto the world of life, O woman! come,
he is lifeless by whose side thou liest.
Wifehood with this thy husband was thy portion,
who took thy hand and wooed thee as a lover.

9. From his dead hand I take the bow he carried, that
it may be our power and might and glory,
There art thou, there; and here with noble heroes
may be o'ercome all hosts that fight against us.

10. Betake thee to the lap of earth the mother, of earth
far-spreading, very kind and gracious.
Young dame, wool-soft unto the guerdon-giver, may
she preserve thee from destruction's bosom.

11. Heave thyself, earth, nor press thee downward
heavily: afford him easy access, gently tending him.
Earth, as a mother wraps her skirt about her child,
so cover him.

12. Now let the heaving earth be free from motion: yea,
let a thousand clods remain above him.
Be they to him a home distilling fatness, here let
them ever be his place of refuge.

13. I stay the earth from thee while over thee I place
this piece of earth. May I be free from injury.
Here let the fathers keep this pillar firm for thee,
and here let Yama make thee an abiding-place.

14. Even as an arrow's feathers, they have laid me down
at day's decline.
My parting speech have I drawn back as 'twere a
courser with the rein."

This hymn shows us the relations and friends assembled round the corpse, with the widow sitting in the centre of the group. The head-man stands at the side of the dead near the lighted altar, and requests Death to spare the living survivors. For this purpose he places a stone between the mourners and the dead, as a frontier-mark between

the realm of death and the land of the living, and Death, who is in possession of the dead, is not allowed to overstep that boundary. Moreover, the hope is expressed that none of the mourners be removed from life before their time. The married friends of the widow whose husbands are still alive, and who, dressed in festive garments, do not show any sign of grief, present their libation to the departed. When the widow has performed the last sad duty she owes to her husband, she is asked to sever herself from the dead, and, the bond between them being dissolved, she leaves her dead husband and returns to the living.[326] After this the bow is taken from the hand of the corpse, to be preserved for the use of the community. The body is then committed to the earth, and when the grave is closed, the earth is asked to lie softly over the dead and not to press on him. With a prayer that this participation in the burial may not hurt him, the head-man commits the departed to the care of the Pitṛs and to the protection of Yama to secure for him a seat in heaven.

The famous funeral hymn addressed to Agni commences in Mr. Griffith's translation as follows:[327]

1. Burn him not up, nor quite consume him, Agni: let
not his body or his skin be scattered.
O Jātavēdas, when thou hast matured him, then
send him on his way unto the Fathers.
2. When thou hast made him ready, Jātavēdas then do
thou give him over to the Fathers.
When he attains unto the life that waits him, he will
obey the Deities' commandment.

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[326] Prof. von Roth observes *loco citato*, p. 475, that this request made to the widow to leave her dead husband, contains a clear refutation of the assertion of the Brāhmans, that the Vēda orders the self-cremation of the widow.

Compare about the burial *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 89, 1; *Atharvaṇavēda*, V, 30, 14; XVIII, 2, 25, 52; XVIII, 3, 70, etc.

[327] See *Hymns of the Ṛigvēda*, X, 16, Vol. IV, pp. 132, 133.

Compare Dr. J. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, pp. 297, 298, and *Atharvaṇavēda*, XVIII, 2, etc.

3. The sun receive thine eye, the wind thy spirit; go,
as thy merit is, to earth or heaven.
Go, if it be thy lot, unto the waters; go make thine
home in plants with all thy members.
4. Thy portion is the goat; with heat consume him; let
thy fierce flame, thy glowing splendour, burn him,
With thine auspicious forms, O Jātavēdas, bear this
man to the region of the pious.
5. Again, O Agni, to the Fathers send him, who offered
in thee, goes with our oblations.
Wearing now life let him increase his offspring: let
him rejoin a body, Jātavēdas.

While the inanimate body is thus committed to the covering earth or the burning fire, the incorporeal portion goes to that other world to which the virtuous or sinful acts of the person consign him. Various hymns acknowledge the existence of a future life, where rewards are obtained for the good deeds performed on earth, and punishments are meted out for crimes committed in this world; in fact the immortality of the soul forms part of the creed of the Vedic religion.[328] Preceded by the sacrificial he-goat and protected by Pūṣan, the soul wanders through dense darkness a long and tedious way, until it reaches the final goal and arrives at the region of the blessed, after crossing in a boat the river which lies between both spheres.

The solemn and simple funeral rites of the Vedic times gradually changed and became more and more complicated and intricate, as the priestly powers of the Brāhmans increased. Transmigration, a new article of faith apparently unknown to the Vedic people, became the chief dogma of Brahmanic religion, which also enforced widow-burning. It cannot be contended, however, that the later Brāhman priests invented and introduced this cruel custom, which must have been known, though perhaps not observed, in Vedic times, as it was also practised by other kindred Aryan races.

[328] See *Rgvēda*, X, 14, 8, X, 27, 21.

The custom of burying the dead was abandoned and only followed in the case of very young children and holy hermits. Cremation of the body was introduced into general use, and the ceremonial fashioned accordingly. For the support of the ghosts of the Prēta or deceased, and of the Fathers, or Pitṛs, food must be supplied, and this is offered in the shape of balls (*piṇḍa*) consisting of rice and flour. Also libations of water (*udaka*) must be poured out for the refreshment of the *Pitṛs*, and as this duty devolves on the nearest relations, they are respectively called Sapiṇḍas and Samānōdakas. The custom now is, as soon as a man has died, for his son or next heir to place six rice-balls at six different places. The first is deposited at the place where death has occurred, this ball is called *Śava*, the second at the house door is known as *Pāntha*, the third is laid where four roads meet and named *Khēcara*, the fourth is placed where the corpse is set down and styled *Bhūta*, the fifth or *Sādhaka* is put where the firewood is heaped together, and the sixth or *Prēta* where the bones are collected. The first four piṇḍas are respectively devoted to the Bhūmidēvatā, Vāstudēvatā, Bhūta and to the Daśadiśas (ten regions).[329]

After all the prescribed ceremonies of the funeral necessary for cleaning the corpse, leaving the death-house, carrying the body to the burning-place, together with the muttering of the indispensable Mantras, have been performed, the corpse is duly cremated. On the first morning after the funeral a human figure, representing the

[329] See *Garuḍapurāṇa*, II, 5, 40—53.

48. Ṣaḍ ēva maraṇasthānē dvāri catvarakē tathā
viśrāmō kāṣṭhacayanē tathā sañcayanē khaga.

49. Mṛtisthānē śavō nāma bhūmis tuṣyati dēvatā
pānthō dvāri bhavēt tēna prītā syād vāstudēvatā.

50. Catvarē khēcaras tēna tuṣyēd bhūtādidēvatā
viśrāmē bhūtasañjñō' yam tuṣṭās tēna diśō daśa.
citāyām sādhaka iti sañcitau prēta ucyatē

deceased, is made of earth and some food, such as rice flour, is thrown over it. After this is done, it is again destroyed while Mantras are uttered, and the mourners return home. When arrived here *Piṇḍas* or rice-balls are offered to the *Prēta*, or ghost of the departed, who is now represented by a stone (pāṣāṇa), which is buried in a small pit, made for this purpose near the house. One rice-ball is offered every morning during ten days, while loose rice (*bali*) is presented in the evening. Another stone should be buried on the bank of running water, as a rule under the shade of an Aśvattha tree. No Piṇḍa, but *Vāsōdaka* (cloth-water) and *Tilōdaka* (gingili-seed water), are offered to this stone. Whether the whole ceremony is, as circumstances permit, performed in one, three or ten days, the libations of the Vāsōdaka and Tilōdaka in the evening must coincide in number with the offerings of the Piṇḍas in the morning. During the first year a memorial service is held every month. The ten previously mentioned Piṇḍas are offered mainly in order to supply the Prēta with a body (*prētaśarīra*, *yātanāśarīra*) with which he has to appear before Yama in order to receive the judgment due to him for his deeds when alive. Half of the oblation is devoted to the construction of this body, one-fourth to the servants of Yama, and the remaining fourth is intended as nourishment to be consumed by the spirit of the dead. The formation of the *Prētaśarīra*, which is a true miniature likeness of the deceased, proceeds according to the Garuḍapurāṇa in the following manner. Other accounts contain slight variations. On the first day the crown of the head is formed; on the second ears, eyes and nose; on the third neck, shoulders, arms and chest; on the fourth navel, private parts and buttocks; on the fifth knees, shanks and legs; on the sixth all the entrails; on the seventh the veins; on the eighth the teeth and hair; on the ninth the seminal fluids; on the tenth the body has been completely formed, but, as the Prēta is by this

time ravenously hungry, an extraordinarily large *Piṇḍa* must be given to satisfy his appetite.[330] In consequence a large heap of cakes, food of all kinds, the *Prabhūtabali*, is on the tenth day in a funeral procession carried to the waterside, and thrown into the water. It is not necessary that the ten Piṇḍas should be offered daily; they may be offered all at once on the tenth day, as is the custom in Guzerat. The main thing is that they are offered, for unless and until they are offered the poor *Prēta* hovers over the burning place and wanders restless over the surface of the earth. On the eleventh day the Nārāyaṇabali is offered, and a bull (*nīlavṛṣa*) and a heifer (*vatsatarī*) are

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[330] See *Garuḍapurāṇa*, II, VI, 31—37:

31. Dināni daśa yān piṇḍān kurvantyatra sutādayaḥ.
pratyaham tē vibhajyantē caturbhāgaiḥ khagōttama.
32. Bhāgadvayēna dēhas syāt tṛtīyēna yamānugāḥ
tṛpyanti hi caturthēna svayam apyupajīvati.
33. Ahōrātrais tu navabhir dēhō niṣpattim āpnuyāt
śiras tvādyēna piṇḍēna prētasya kriyatē tathā.
34. Dvitīyēna tu karṇākṣināsikās tu samāsataḥ
galāmsabhujavakṣāmsi tṛtīyēna tathā kramāt.
35. Caturthēna ca piṇḍēna nābhiliṅgagudāni ca
jānujaṅghē tathā pādau pañcamēna tu sarvadā.
36. Sarvamarmāṇi ṣaṣṭhēna saptamēna tu nāḍayaḥ
dantalōmānyaṣṭamēna vīryantu navamēna ca.
37. Daśamēna tu pūrṇatvam tṛptatā kṣudviparyayaḥ

To the sūtra of the Smṛtiratnākara (Ēvam anvaham dattaiḥ piṇḍaiḥ prētākṛtiḥ smaryatē) the Sudhīvilōcana VI (M.S. leaf 1351) remarks:

Prathamē'hani yat piṇḍam tēna mūrdhābhijāyatē,
cakṣuśśrōtrē nāsikā ca dvitīyē'hani jāyatē.
Bhujau vakṣas tathā grīvā tṛtīyē'hani jāyatē,
nāḍisthānam gudam liṅgam caturthē'hani jāyatē.
Ūrū tu pañcamē jñēyau ṣaṣṭhē carma prajāyatē
saptamē tu sirās sarvā jāyantē nātra saṁśayaḥ.
Aṣṭamē tu kṛtē piṇḍē sarvarōmāṇyanantaram
navamē vīryasampattir daśamē kṣutparikṣayaḥ.
Daśamē ca tu piṇḍēna tṛptiḥ prētasya jāyatē
āśaucāntē tatassamyak piṇḍadānam samāpyatē.
Tatra śrāddham pradātavyam sarvavarṇēṣvayam vidhiḥ
ēkōddiṣṭāt piśācatvam pitṛtvam piṇḍayōgataḥ.

let loose, which ceremony is called *Vṛṣōtsarjana*. For suicides no piṇḍas are offered during the ten days, but the Nārāyaṇabali is performed on the eleventh.[331] When the *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* has been performed on the twelfth day the deceased becomes, so far as his relations on earth are concerned, a *Pitṛ*. Up to the performance of the ten piṇḍas the dead remains a Prēta, through the Nārāyaṇabali he becomes a Piśāca, and by the Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa he is promoted to the position of a Pitṛ. Here again it is not necessary to perform all these ceremonies within the space of twelve days, but as life is uncertain, and difficulties may afterwards arise, it is thought better to begin and finish with them as quickly as possible. The Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa may thus be performed on the 12th or 45th day, or after six or twelve months.[332] There are sixteen Śrāddhas to be observed, the 9 Śrāddhas (navaśrāddhāni) are made while the deceased is still a Prēta, on the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th day, and on the 11th day when a Piśāca.[333] However, I may remark here, that the term *Piśāca* is never pronounced in the funeral ceremony.

When the *Prētaśarīra* has been duly formed, the deceased sufficiently equipped for his journey to Yama, sets out on it, but he arrives in the town of Yama only in the course of the second year. If no piṇḍas are given, Yama provides the Prēta with a body, which in consequence of the

[331] See *Garuḍapurāṇa* or II, VI, 39—46 about Suicides and *Vṛṣōtsarjana*:

39. Nimittam durmṛtim kṛtvā yadi narāyaṇō baliḥ
ēkādaśāhē kartavyō vṛṣōtsargō'pi tatra vai.

[332] See *ibidem*, 48—53:

48. Dvādaśa pratimāsyāni ādyam ṣāṇmāsikam tathā
sapiṇḍīkaraṇañ caiva tṛtīyā ṣōḍaśī matā.

49. Dvādaśāhē tṛipakṣē ca ṣaṇmāsē māsikē'bdikē
tṛtīyam ṣōḍaśim ēnām vadanti matabhēdataḥ.

[333] See *ibidem*, 71:

Prathamē'hni tṛtīyē vā pañcamē saptamē tathā
navamaikādaśē caiva navaśrāddham prakīrttitam.

troubles it undergoes on its journey to Yama is generally called *Yātanāśarīra*. After serving his due term of punishment in hell, the deceased reappears as a Prēta on earth roaming about it in hunger and thirst, disturbing and harassing the living. The dead, for whom the prescribed Piṇḍas have been spent, wanders the same road as the others, but under far better conditions, as he has obtained a proper Prētaśarīra. He has first to pass the Vaitaraṇī river, which is a hundred yōjanas broad, and filled with pus and blood. To cross this stream he has to present to the boatmen a cow as his fare.[334] By this time six months have gone, and the wanderer arrives in the seventh month at the town *Bahvāpada* (great misfortune);[335] hence he starts and reaches in the eight *Nānākrandapura*, the city of manifold crying ;[336] here he stays for a month, weeping and lamenting when he thinks of his charming wife and the pleasant home he has left behind ;[337] in the tenth he reaches *Sutaptana-*

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[334] See *ibidem*, 123—127 :

123. Vrajatas tatra mārgē tu tatra Vaitaraṇī śubhā
śatayōjanavistīrṇā pūyaśōṇitasaṅkulā
124. Āyāti tatra dṛśyantē nāvikā dhīvarādayaḥ
tē vadanti pradattā gaur yadi Vaitaraṇī tvayā
125. Nāvam ēnām samārōha sukhēnōttara vai nadīm
tatra yēna pradattā gauḥ sa sukhēnaiva tām taret.
126. Adāyi tatra ghṛṣyēta karagrāhantu nāvikaiḥ
ukhaiḥ kākair vṛkōlūkais tīkṣṇatuṇḍair vitudyatē.
127. Manujānām hitam dānam antē Vaitaraṇī khaga
dattā pāpam dahēt sarvam mama lōkantu sā nayēt.

[335] See *ibidem*, 128 :

128. Saptamē māsi samprāptē purē Bahvāpadē mṛtaḥ
vrajatē sōdakam bhuktvā piṇḍam vai saptamāsikam.

[336] See *ibidem*, 131 :

131. Māsyaṣṭamē duḥkhadē tu purē bhuktvātha sōdakam
piṇḍam prayātyasau tārkṣya Nānākrandapurē tataḥ.

[337] See *ibidem*, 132, 133 :

133. Navamē māsi dattam vai Nānākrandapurē tataḥ
piṇḍam aśnāti karuṇam nānākrandān karōtyapi.

gara,[338] which appears to be a very hot place; at the end of the eleventh he comes to the town *Raudra*;[339] and when the twelfth month is completed, he arrives at Śītāḍhya, which is situated near Yama's town, *Saṁyamana*.[340] The residence of Yama he approaches in the second year. It must not be forgotten that the *Prētaśarīra* is able to accomplish his journey only if the necessary Piṇḍas are offered to him. Yama himself is surrounded by thirteen servants who are called *Śravaṇa*.[341] According to the good or bad character of the Prēta, Yama presents a pleasant or terrible aspect. To the bad he shows a face with horrible tusks, and with a terrible frown; he is covered with mouths that are deformed and frightful; he is afflicted with hundreds of diseases; a stick leans against his stout arm and he carries a noose in his hand; so that he exhibits altogether a hideous aspect.[342]

To the good, however, he appears in quite a different form, kind and friendly, with rings adorning his ears, a crown on his head, and carrying along with him prosperity.[343]

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[338] See *ibidem*, 134; 134:

134. Daśamē masi dattam vai Sutaptanāgaram tataḥ
saranmēvam vilapatē halāhatihataḥ pathi.

[339] See *ibidem*, 136:

136. Daśamē māsi piṇḍādi tatra bhuktvā prasarpati,
māsē caikādaśē pūrṇē puram Raudram sa gacchati.

[340] See *ibidem*, 140:

140. Nyūnābdikañca yacchrāddham tatra bhuṅktē suduḥkhitaḥ
sampūrṇē tu tatō varṣē Śītāḍhyam nagaram vrajēt.

[341] See *ibidem*, 145:

145. Trayōdaśa pratīhārāḥ śravaṇā nāma tatra vai
śravaṇāḥ karmatas tuṣyantyanyathā krōdham āpnuyuḥ.

[342] See *ibidem*, II, 6, 147:

147. Daṁṣṭrākarālavadanam bhrūkuṭīdāruṇākṛtim,
virūpair bhīṣaṇair vaktrair vṛtam vyādnśataiḥ prabhum
daṇḍāsaktamahābāhum pāśahastam subhairavam.

[343] See *ibidem*, II, 6, 149:

149. Yē tu puṇyakṛtas tatra tē paśyanti yamam tadā
saumyākṛtim kuṇḍalinam maulimantam dhṛtaśriyam;

Yama, the son of Śaraṇyū and of Vivasvat, the twin-brother of Yamī, whose offer to marry him he refused as immoral, nowhere appears in the Vēda as a judge of the dead, and the punishment of the bad is no concern of his. He is mentioned as the first man that died and found the way to the other world, to which he eventually guides other mortals. His messengers among men are two horrible dogs, which strike terror into those who behold them and which everybody tries to avoid and to pass by. In the Purāṇas and in other later works Yama appears as the judge of the dead. The distance from this world to the residence of Yama, amounts to 86,000 yōjanas,[344] and after making of this journey to the first trial the dead have to undergo. Already experience now the fruit of their good actions, for they are supplied with all they want and are well cared for; but for the wicked it is indeed a sore trial, as they are exposed to all kinds of hardships, and suffer great bodily pain as well as mental agitation caused by fear and anguish. Yama encourages the good and promises them a blissful future, while he predicts to the bad the sufferings of hell.[345] According to some statements, he accompanies the *Prētaśarīra* to the town where *Citragupta*, Yama's recorder, resides.[346] This dread official presents a horrible appearance. He has red eyes, a long nose; awful tusks project from his mouth; his thirty-two arms are three yōjanas long, and his terrible voice sounds like the rolling of thunder at a general dissolution. When a new arrival approaches, Citragupta and Yama's

and II, 19, 6. Compare also Vṛhannāradīyapurāṇa, XXIX, 36

36. Yamaścaturbhujō bhūtvā śaṅkhacakrag[illegible]dādibhr[illegible]
puṇyakarmaratānāñca snēhānumitra[illegible]adarcavē.

344 See *Vṛhannāradīyapurāṇa*, XXIX, 4.

4. Ṣaḍaśītisahasrāṇi yōjanānām [illegible]uniśvaraḥ
yamamārgasya vistāraḥ [illegible]apināṁ bhayadāyakaḥ.

345 See *ibidem*, 21—30.

346 See *Garuḍapurāṇa*, II, 19, 1[illegible]2.

who resemble their master in dreadful ugliness, begin to roar in a frightful manner.[347] Citragupta then reads out the judgment at which he has arrived after a careful examination of the record which he has kept of the good and bad actions of the deceased, a judgment which always even-handed justice. Accordingly the good set out for heaven, and the bad are pushed into hell, each to reside in their respective places among the gods, pitṛs, men, or the damned, until they rejoin once more the living world, in a shape previously assigned to them.[348] The more modern

[347] Another reading has in śloka 47. 22 instead of 32. See *Vṛhannāradīya*, XXIX, 47—50:

47. Pralayāmbudanirghōṣō añjana... samaprabhaḥ
vidyutpātābhāyudhair bhīmō dvātrimśadbhi... utaḥ
48. Yōjanatrayavistārō raktākṣō dīrghanāsikaḥ
daṁṣṭrākarālavadanō vāpitulyavilōcanaḥ,
49. Mṛtyujvarādibhir yuktaś Citraguptō vibhīṣaṇaḥ
sarvē dūtāśca garjanti yamatulyavibhīṣaṇaḥ.
50. Tatō bravīti tān sarvān kampamānāṁśca pāpinaḥ
śōcantaḥ svāni karmāṇi Citraguptō yamājñayā.

Compare *Garuḍapurāṇa*, II, 19, 6:

6. Saptadhānyasya dānēna prītō dharmadhvajō bhavēt.
tatra gatvā pratihārō brūtē tasya śubhāśubham.

[348] See *Garuḍapurāṇa*, II, 19, 14—16:

14. Ēvam kṛtēna sampaśyēt sa naraḥ kṛtakarmaṇa
daivikīm paitṛkīm yōnim mānuṣīm vātha nārakīm.
15. Dharmarājasya vacanān mukti bhavati vā tataḥ
manuṣyatvam tataḥ prāpya suputraḥ putratām vrajēt
16. Yathā yathā kṛtam karma tām tām yōnim vrajēn naraḥ
tat tathaiva ca bhuñjānō vicarēt sarvalōkataḥ.

also *Vṛhannāradīya*, XXIX, 57—61:

Dharmarāṭ pakṣapātantu na karōti hi hē janāḥ
vicar... ayadhvam yūyam tad yuṣmābhiś caritam purā.
58. Daridrē vā ca mūrkhē ca paṇḍitē vā śriyānvitē
āḍhyē vāpi ... a dhīrē vā samavartī yamaḥ smṛtaḥ.
59. Citraguptasya ta... d vākyam śrutvā tē pāpinas tadā
śōcantaḥ svānkarm... i tūṣṇīm tiṣṭhanti niścalāḥ.
60. Yamājñākāriṇas sarvē ca...lādyā ativēgitāḥ
narakēṣu ca tān sarvān prak... pantyativēgitāḥ.
61. Śuddhakarmaphalan tē tu bhuk... ntē pāpaśēṣataḥ
mahītalañca samprāpya bhavanti sth...vādayaḥ.

doctrine carefully recognises three kinds of spheres into which the soul of the deceased enters, those of Final Beatitude,[349] Heaven, and Hell. In the first sphere Brahman is reached by the *Dēvayāna*, in the second the ascent to the Moon takes place by the *Pitṛyāna;* and the eventual descent from it is performed in the reverse manner. The difference in the conditions between the two stations may be briefly defined as that existing between *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa* (see pp. 387—90, 411). With Brahman he remains until the end of the Kalpa, after which he is reborn; in Heaven and Hell he passes the prescribed period until his reappearance on earth. As a *Sannyāsin* is believed to obtain *Mōkṣa* or Final Beatitude after his death, the otherwise obligatory ten *Piṇḍas* are not offered after his burial.

The difficulties which beset this subject are considerable, not only on account of its nature, but also on account of the obscure language in which it is discussed. I think it therefore advisable to say a few words in explanation of an expression which is often used in connexion with this topic. This is the word *Ātivāhika*, which is in various writings used in different senses. Its first meaning is *transportable*. In such a sense it already occurs in *Kapila's* Sūtras, when he contends that the body is not necessarily a gross one, for there exists also a transportable one. This is composed of three of the five elements that form the living body (see p. 406); they are the last three: *tējas* light, *vāyu* air, and *ākāśa* ether, which rise upwards, while *pṛthivī* earth, and *āpaḥ* water, go downwards. This *ātivāhika* body is strictly reserved for men and is never imparted to other living beings.[350] In the Brahmasūtras of Dvai-

[349] Compare *Śrībhāgavata*, II, 2, 21, 22, and *Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad* VI, 2, 2.

[350] See *Kapila-Sūtra*, V, 103: "Na sthūlam iti niyama ātivāhikasyāpi vidyamānatvāt."

pāyana we find the Ativāhikas mentioned again in the aphorism "*Transportable through their sign*" and Śaṅkarācārya expresses a doubt whether this term applies in the Upaniṣads to the signs of the Road (*mārgacihna* which the spiritual body has to traverse after death), or to the places of enjoyment (*bhōgabhūmi*), or to the leaders of the wandering spirits (*nētārō gantṛṇām*).[351] In the *Chāndōgya-* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣads* it is connected with certain stages, through which the ghost of the deceased has to pass in order to obtain Final Beatitude or Heaven.[351] To the first the pious or knowing (*jñānin*) is led by the northern way, while he who is only practising his work (*karmin*), reaches the second by the southern road. The deities on this southern path presiding over smoke (*dhūma*), night (*rātri*), the dark fortnight (*aparapakṣa*), the six southern months (*ṣaḍdakṣiṇāyanamāsāḥ*), the sphere of the Manes (*pitṛlōka*), and ether (*ākāśa*), lead him on, until the not yet beatified spirit reaches the moon (*candramas*) where the Gods use him. To *Final Beatitude* on the other hand the pious are guided under the safe conduct of the genius of the rays of light (*arcis*), day (*ahan*), the bright fortnight (*āpūryamāṇapakṣa*), the six northern months (*ṣaḍudagayanamāsāḥ*), the year (*samvatsara*), sun (*āditya*), moon (*candramas*) and lightning (*vidyut*), whence a not-human personage leads him to Brahman.[352]

See *Vāchaspatya*, p. 653, about this statement from the *Viṣṇudharma*:

Ātivāhikasaṃjñō' sau dēhō bhavati Bhārgava
kēvalam tan manuṣyāṇām nānyēṣām prāṇinām kvacit.

[351] See *Brahmasūtra* IV, 3, 4: Ātivāhikās talliṅgāt. The Commentary of *Śaṅkarācārya* remarks about it; "Tēṣvēvārcirādiṣu saṃśayaḥ kim ētāni mārgacihnānyuta bhōgabhūmayō'tha vā nētārō gantṛṇām iti."

[352] See *Chāndōgyōpaniṣad*, V, 10, 1—4: "Tadya itttham viduḥ yē cēmē' raṇyē śraddhā tapa ityupāsatē tē'rciṣam abhisambhavantyarciṣō har ahna āpūryamāṇapakṣam āpūryamāṇapakṣād yān ṣaḍudaṅṅēti māsāṁstān (1) māsēbhyas saṁvatsaram saṁvatsarād ādityam ādityāc candramasam candramasō vidyutam tatpūruṣō'mānavas sa ēnān brahma gamayatyēṣa dēvayanaḥ panthā iti (2); Atha ya imē grāma iṣṭāpūrtē dattam ityupāsatē

We see thus a peculiarly devised procession, in which one presiding genius leads the spectral body from this stage to the next. Though the Vedic poets had already admitted, as previously mentioned, a division of heaven similar to that of the earth into three spheres, in the highest of which the Manes dwell, these simple conceptions no longer satisfied the imagination of later generations.[353]

Ātivāhika indicates also the body with which a spirit enters into all the three places, whether he obtains *mōkṣa*, ascends to heaven,[354] or is hurled into hell; and, lastly, it denotes a soul sojourning in hell.[355]

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dhūmam abhisambhavanti dhūmād rātrim rātrēr aparapakṣam aparapakṣād yān ṣaṇmāsān dakṣiṇēti māsēbhyaḥ pitṛlōkam pitṛlōkād ākāśam ākāśāc candramasam ēṣa sōmo rājā taddēvānām annam tam dēvā bhakṣayanti (4) [illegible] on p. 551.

The expression *bhakṣayanti* does here [illegible] *se* (enjoy) according to *Śaṅkarācārya's* Commentary [illegible] ce: "Kim tarhyupakaraṇamātram dēvānām bhavanti tē strī[illegible]divat; dṛṣṭaś cānnaśabda upakaraṇēṣu striyō'nnam paśavō'[illegible]m rājñām ityādi.

With respect to the presiding Deities *ibidem*: Sa tyantarādyē ca satyam hiraṇyagarbhākhyam upāsatē [illegible] sarvē'arciṣam arcir abhimānānām dēvatām abhisambhavanti pratipadyantē.

Compare with the above given quotation *Chāndōgyōpaniṣad*, IV, 15, 5, and *Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad*, VI, 2, 15—16; and see p. 551.

The *Ātivāhikas* are not always given in the same order and number; so are, *e.g.*, now generally twelve *ātivāhikas* mentioned as leading on the northern road to Final Beatitude (*Mukti*). They are: the ray of light, or day, the bright fortnight, the six northern months, the year, the wind, the sun, the moon, lightning, Varuṇa, Indra and Dhātṛ; as indicated in the following ślōka:

Muktō'rcirdinapūrvapakṣaṣaḍudaṅmāsābdavātāṁśumad
glauvidyudvaruṇēndradhātṛmahitassīmāntasindhvāplutaḥ.

[353] See *above*, p. 275; *Ṛgvēda*, V, 60, 6; VII, 164, 11; *Atharvaṇavēda*, XVIII, 2, 48.

[354] Compare among others the Commentary to Āśvalāyana's *Gṛhyasūtra*, IV, 4, 8: Jānumātrē gartō ētāvatkālam ātivāhikam śarīram āsthāyāhitāgniḥ saṁskāram pratikṣatē tatō'smillōkē dagdhaḥ san avaṭān niṣkramya dhūmēna saha svargam ētīti śrūyatē.

[355] See *Vaijayanti*, Lōkapālādhyāya, 38:

Narakā jantavaḥ prētā yātyā apyātivāhikāḥ
prētaḥ parētā vētālā gandharvāś sattvakā grahāḥ.

The number of the various pits of hell varies. The law-books of Manu and Yājñavalkya mention twenty-one by name, while the Viṣṇupurāṇa and Bhāgavatapurāṇa mention twenty-eight. The Garuḍapurāṇa goes so far as to speak of 84 lacs, or of 8,400,000 pits of hell.[356] Into all these many dungeons sinners are thrown. According to the sin each has committed a particular cell is assigned to him. After he has expiated his sins in hell, he once more joins the living creation, but on doing so his previous Prētaśarīra disappears. The same fate overtakes also the spectral body which has left heaven to undergo rebirth in the world below. Unless the individual is born again as a *Dvija* or Aryan twiceborn, no Piṇḍas are offered for the *Prēta* or *Yātanā-śarīra* which arises at the death of any subsequent [illegible]. This existence and change of the astral body [illegible]ed creature is a very significant feature, helping [illegible] does, to appreciate the peculiar system of the Ind[illegible] migration or *Saṁsāra*. It indicates an essential p[illegible] here it is at variance with the Egyptian dogma.

As the body of every creature is liable to decomposition, as soon as the soul has left the body, particular care must be taken to keep the body as intact as possible, and to

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[356] See *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, IV, 88—90:

88. Tāmisram andhatāmisram mahārauravarauravam
narakam kālasūtrañca mahānarakam ēva ca.

89. Sañjīvanam mahāvīcim tapanam sampratāpanam
saṁhātañca sakākōlam kuḍmalam pūtimṛttikam

90. Lōhaśaṅkum ṛjīṣañca panthānam sālmalīm nadīm
asipatravanañcaiva lōhadārakam ēva ca.

Compare *Yājñavalkya*, III, 222—224. These two lists do not altogether coincide in the names of the hells.

Compare also *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, II, 6, 2—5; *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, V, 26, 6, 7; *Garuḍapurāṇa*, II, 4.

The subject is likewise treated in Mr. FitzEdward Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's translation of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Vol. II, pp. 214, 215.

secure its preservation, it has to be embalmed,[357] because, according to the Egyptian religion, the soul effects its reunion with the body, after it has returned from the subterranean regions, previously to its final absorption into Osiris. During its separation from the soul, the body pants for reunion with it and intreats the god of *An* (Heliopolis) to permit it to do so.[358] In India, on the other hand, the preservation of the body was never regarded as a matter of religious importance. In fact the body by being buried or burnt was delivered over to destruction; and allowed to resolve into the various elements which composed it. Whether the corpse was buried, or whether it was burnt, the dissolution into its component elements (*pañcatva*) was the main object. After the earthly body had been disposed of, it was deemed necessary to provide the shelterless soul with an artificial raiment, and through the agency of oblations and mantras a counterfeit substitute of the body was produced. In the case of pious sages, who, renouncing the pleasures of life, end their days in deep contemplation, the offering of the Piṇḍas becomes unnecessary, for they enter at once from this world into Final Beatitude or Mōkṣa, and are thus until the end of the Kalpa exempted from the pangs of rebirth.

There exists, therefore, from the very outset a great difference between the Egyptian and Indian doctrines, though on many points they show a great deal of resemblance.

Mā, the Goddess of Truth, and *Horos* guide the soul of the deceased to the nether world, where it is laid in the scales and weighed by Anubis, Horos and Thoth, the last marking the result. Led by Horos, he then appears in the presence of Osiris, who, attended by his guards and surrounded

[357] See *Book of the Dead*, chapter 154. The gross body, Ka and soul of the Egyptians have by some been compared with the *sthūla-*, *sūkṣma* and *kāraraṇa-* śarira in Sanskrit.

[358] See *ibidem*, chapter 89.

by seventy-two judges, pronounces the final judgment. If the examination takes an unfavourable turn, and ends in a sentence of condemnation, the head of the shade is cut off either by Set, Horos, or some demon. If beheading is not deemed sufficient punishment, the guilty shade is thrown into an ever-burning fire, which enveloping him burns continually. Awful and wonderfully variegated tortures are inflicted on the wicked, whom seventy-five hell-pits of various conditions are prepared to receive. The most dreadful punishment of all is, however, utter annihilation, or the so-called second death. Life is on the contrary the most precious of all gifts, and *Ra* is therefore called life.[360]

On the other hand, those who have escaped conviction do not at once reach the goal of highest bliss. They have to undergo purification by fire, pass through a series of portals beset with monsters which bar their progress, and escape dangers that threaten their existence. To overcome these perils and to deceive their enemies, the shades, imitating the example of Osiris, occasionally assume during their stay in these trying regions, which are known as *Amenti, Teser* or *Cher-nuter*, forms of various animals, such as crocodiles, adders and hawks, a proceeding which may have been mistaken for a migration of the shade into some other body. Yet, as this temporary change in the external appearance of the shade only takes place in the netherworld, and does not imply a rebirth on the surface of the earth, it differs from the transmigration of souls and cannot be taken as identical with it. It is true that the deceased appears in a certain picture in the shape of a pig, when escorted on a bark by the two dog-headed apes of Thoth, but as this voyage is subsequent to the judgment passed by Osiris on the dead, the ship conveys him most probably to an

[359] See *ibidem*, CLIX, 11.

[360] See *ibidem*, CLXI, and elsewhere.

infernal place of torture, and not to the earth to appear there as a pig. The soul of the cleansed shade is on the other hand ultimately reunited with his body, in order to return to life and to be for ever merged into Osiris.[361] While the most ancient Egyptian records do not contain any evidence for the dogma of Transmigration, whether Metempsychosis or Metensomatosis,[362] prevailing among the Egyptians of old, it may yet be possible that some doctrines embracing it, may at one time or other at a later period have found access into Egypt. At all events we have it on the authority of Herodotos, that the Egyptians not only maintained that Dēmēter and Dionysos (Isis and Osiris) ruled in the nether-regions, but that the soul of man was also immortal, and that, after the destruction of the body it entered into that of another animal, and, after assuming the forms of all beings that exist on earth, in water and in the air, it took again the shape of man; such a rotation being completed in the space of three thousand years.[363] Pythagoras—though not named by Herodotos, who intentionally abstained from mentioning any Greek writers as having borrowed this doctrine from the Egyptians but published it as their own—is generally regarded as having imbibed his knowledge on this point during his stay in Egypt. This is possible, even probable, but not certain. The religious preservation of the body by embalment and the annihilation of the sinner by the second death, is in my opinion, *prima facie* incompatible with the doctrine of transmigration. The fact of the corpse being preserved with the object of

[361] Compare *The History of Egyptian Religion* by Dr. C. P. Thiele, London, 1882, pp. 67—73, and *Chaldean Magic* by Fr. Lenormant, pp. 84—86.

[362] The difference between Metempsychosis and Metensomatosis is that the former term is applied to express the wandering of a soul into other human bodies or the wandering of different souls into one body, while Metensomatosis implies either the confinement of a soul in another natural body, or the migration of a soul into different bodies.

[363] See *Herodotos*, II, 123.

securing to the soul, during its infernal wanderings, its legitimate habitation on earth, precludes the assumption of the existence of a belief in a transmigration of the soul into different living bodies.

With respect to the statement of Herodotos, we must bear in mind that the cost of embalming and the ability to secure the permanent protection of the embalmed body require not only very considerable means, but also a powerful influence extending beyond the grave; such as only a few distinguished persons in the whole nation could possess, if we except the king who in ancient Egypt united with his office that of high priest also. In these circumstances it is quite possible that in course of time dissatisfaction spread in Egypt with a religion which, at the expense of the many poor, favoured the few rich. Though we do not possess any historical records in proof of such a movement, there exist indications which suggest the possible existence of such a commotion, which, if it took place, was probably encouraged by the priests, who were jealous of the royal ascendancy. A complication of this kind would be favourable for the adoption and spreading of a faith, which promised eternal life to every one and opened to the poor and oppressed the prospect of a future life with a change for the better and the assurance of ultimate bliss. I do not believe, however, that the Egyptian religious belief, exercised a direct influence on India. On the other hand it is necessary to refer to Egypt in order to show by a juxtaposition of the systems current in both countries, the material differences which existed between them.[364]

If we now return to India, we find that among the majority of non-Indian scholars the opinion prevails, that though the Vēda clearly contains the doctrine of a life after death, and admits the immortality of the soul, it does

[364] See *above*, pp. 283, 284.

nowhere hint at the transmigration of souls. This opinion was nearly forty years ago expressed by Professor Albrecht Weber. Professor Paul Deussen has adhered to it in his system of the Vēdānta, and it has lately been again confirmed by Professor Zimmer.[365] While this view is taken by European Orientalists, I must not concea the fact that the Brahmanic priests and pandits entirely diavow it. They contend on the contrary that the idea of transmigration is found in the Ṛgvēda already, and especially in Ṛgvēda X, 16, 3. Indeed the commentary ascribed to Sāyaṇa clearly explains the former verse as referring to transmigration, and he does the same in his commentary to the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka*.[366] This being the case, so much is clear,

[365] See Dr. A. Weber's Legende des Sa[illegible] *schrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. X, [illegible] den Liedern des Rik ist noch keine Spur der Seelenwanderung [illegible] Hasses der Einzelexistenz zu finden"; *Das System des Vedanta*, von Dr. Paul Deussen, Leipzig, 1883, p. 385: Die älteste Ansicht, wie sie in den Hymnen des Ṛigveda herrscht, kennt noch keine Seelenwanderung"; and *Altindisches Leben* von Heinrich Zimmer, p. 408: "Von der spätern indischen Lehre der Seelenwanderung haben wir jedoch im Veda keine Andeutung." On the other hand Sir Monier Williams remarks in his *Religious Thoughts and Life in India*, p. 281: "It is remarkable that in some passages of the hymns (X, 58, 7; 16, 3) there are dim hints of a belief in the possible migration of the spirit of the deceased into plants, trees and streams."

[366] Compare Sāyaṇa's commentary to Ṛgvēda X, 16, 3: "Hē prēta tē tvadīyam cakṣur indriyam sūryam gacchatu prāpnētu ātmā prāṇaḥ vātam bāhyam vāyum gacchatu api ca tvam api dharmaṇā sukṛtēna tatphalam bhōktum dyām ca atra ca śabdōvikalpārthē dyulōkam vā pṛthivīm ca pṛthivīm vā gaccha prāpnuhi, apō vāntarikṣalōkam gaccha prāpnuhi yadi tatrāntarikṣē hitam sthāpitam tē tava karmaphalam ōṣadhīṣu śarīraiḥ śarīrāvayavaiḥ pratitiṣṭha pratitiṣṭhati." Sāyaṇācārya's commentary to the same verse contained in the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* VI, 1, 22 is even more explicit: "Hē prēta tē tvadīyam cakṣuḥ indriyam sūryam gacchatu, ātmā prāṇaḥ bāhyavāyum gacchatu, tvam api dharmaṇā sukṛtēna tatphalam bhōktum dyulōkam bhūlōkañ ca gaccha vā jalam gaccha, cakṣurādīndriyasāmarthyam punar dēhagrahaṇaparyantam tattadadhiṣṭhātṛdēvatā tvayā dyulōkādiṣu śarīrē svīkṛtē paścāt tvām ēva prāpsyati. Yatra yasmin lōkē tē tava hitam sukham asti, tatra gatvā ōṣadhīṣu praviśya taddvārā pitṛdēhamātṛdēhau praviśya tatra tatrōcitāni sarīrāṇi svīkṛtya taiḥ śarīraiḥ pratiṣṭhitō bhava.

that whatever may have been the idea of the Vedic seer on the subject of transmigration, whether he believed in it, or whether his words accidentally favoured an interpretation not intended by him but afterwards applied to them,—the indigenous tradition, corroborated by the accepted commentator, connects the above Vedic verses with the dogma of transmigration, a circumstance which seems either to have been entirely overlooked, or not treated with proper attention. This evidence of Sāyaṇa is by no means an unimportant matter; for though tradition may [illegible], it should not without sufficient cause be rejected as false and irrelevant, especially when no positive proofs exist to refute it absolutely. And [illegible] I have to mention a [illegible] sage *Yājñavalkya* in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad is asked the question where is the dead person whose speech enters the fire, whose breath the air, whose eye the sun, whose mind the moon, whose ear the space, whose body the earth, whose self the ether, whose hairs of the body the shrubs, whose hairs of the head the trees, and whose blood and semen the water? This passage, though much enlarged, greatly resembles Ṛgvēda X, 16, 3. Professor Paul Deussen, one of the most learned and thoughtful Sanskritists of the day, is inclined to recognize in this extract the genesis of the doctrine of the migration of the soul, and yet apparently does not apply a similar meaning to the Vedic verse, where the same sentiment is likewise expressed, as *Ārtabhāga* had most probably this verse in mind when he asked his question.[367]

[367] See Dr. Paul Deussen *das System des Vēdānta*, p. 405: "Zu dieser merkwürdigen Stelle, in der wir, wie es scheint, die Genesis der Seelenwanderungslehre selbst vor Augen haben." and *Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad* III, 2, 13; "Yājñavalkyēti hōvāca: yatrāsya puruṣasya mṛtasyāgnim vāgapyēti vātam prāṇaścakṣur ādityam manaś candram diśaḥ śrōtram pṛthivīm śarīram ākāśam ātmauṣadhīr lōmāni vanaspatīn kēśā apsu lōhitañca rētaśca nidhīyatē kvāyam tadā puruṣō bhavatīti."

Compare p. 530.

I am myself in agreement with those who decide against transmigration being originally an article of the Vedic dogma, but I take my stand on another ground, for even if the two Vedic allusions should refer to the doctrine of Metempsychosis, one must not forget that the portion of the Ṛgvēda, in which they are found, does not belong to the most ancient, but to a subsequent period already exposed to foreign influence. So much is at all events certain, that the idea of the peregrinations of the soul through various bodies pervades the whole population of India and is expressed in its Lawbooks and Purāṇas.[368] Perhaps the earliest quotation of transmigration is contained in certain passages of the Chāndōgyōpaniṣad and Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad, though the above mentioned term *Ātivāhika* which occurs in the Kapila-Sūtras, may be understood as insinuating it. Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad, the older, simpler and more concise of the two Upaniṣads, alludes to it in two places as follows. "That very "Self is Brahman, endowed with knowledge, mind, life, "sight, hearing, earth, water, wind, ether, light and no light, "desire and no desire, anger and no anger, right and wrong, "and everything. If he is now endowed with this or that, "this means, that according as he acts or behaves, thus he "becomes; if he works good he becomes good, and if he "works bad, he becomes bad; he becomes pure by a pure "deed, and bad by a bad one. They also say here, that "man is endowed with desires, meaning, that what he "desires, that he resolves, and what he resolves, that he "does, and according to the deed he does, he gets. About "this is a verse: On whatever object a man's mind is "intent to that he goes together with his deed, and after "he has received the final reward of whatever deed he "does here (in this world), he returns from that world to "this world of action. So far as to him who desires, but

[368] Compare on this subject among others *Manu* I, 50, 117; II, 201; XII, 39—51, 55—72; *Ādiparvan* XC and *Viṣṇupurāṇa* II, 6, 32, 33.

"now about him who does not desire; of him who not desir-
"ing, free from desires, has obtained his desires, or desires
"the Self, the breath does not pass away, but being Brah-
"man, goes to Brahman.[369]

"Those who thus know this and those who worship in the
"forest faith and truth, they enter into the light of the
"pyre, from the light to the day, from the day to the
"bright fortnight, from the bright fortnight to the six
"northern months, from the months to the world of the
"Gods, from the world of the Gods to the sun, from the
"sun to the sphere of lightning; and a spiritual personage
"having appeared leads these with lightning endowed
"spirits to the world of Brahman. In these worlds of
"Brahman they live elevated for years; for them there is
"no return.

"But those who conquer the worlds by sacrifice, liber-
"ality and penance they enter into the smoke of the pyre,
"from the smoke to the night, from the night to the dark
"fortnight, from the dark fortnight to the six southern
"months, from the months to the world of the fathers,
"from the world of the fathers to the moon, and having
"reached the moon, they become food. The Gods feed
"there on them, as the sacrificers feed on the king Sōma,
"as he waxes and wanes. When, however, (the effect of

[369] See *Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad* IV, 4, 5—6: Sa vā ayam ātmā brahma vijñānamayō manōmayaḥ prāṇamayaś cakṣurmayaḥ, śrōtramayaḥ pṛthivīmaya āpōmayō vāyumaya ākāśamayas tējōmayō' tējōmayaḥ kāmamayō' kāmamayaḥ krōdhamayō' krōdhamayō dharmamayō'dharmamayaḥ sarvamayas tad yad ētad idammayō' dōmaya iti yathākārī yathācārī tathā bhavati sādhukārī sādhur bhavati pāpakārī pāpō bhavati puṇyaḥ puṇyēna karmaṇā bhavati pāpaḥ pāpēna; athō khalvāhuḥ kāmamaya ēvāyam puruṣa iti sa yathākāmō bhavati tatkratur bhavati yatkratur bhavati tatkarma kurutē tad abhisampadyatē. (5) Tadēṣa ślōkō bhavati: Tad ēva saktaḥ saha karmaṇaiti liṅgam manō yatra niṣaktam asya; prāpyāntam karmaṇas tasya yat kiñcēha karōtyayam, tasmāllōkāt punar aityasmai lōkāya karmaṇā iti, nu kāmayamānō' thākāmayamānō yō' kāmō niṣkāma āptakāma ātmakāmō na tasya utkrāmanti Brahmaiva san Brahmāpyēti. (6)"

"their actions) passes away, they re-enter the ether, from "the ether to the air, from the air to rain, from rain to "earth, and having reached the air they become food. In "a fire-like man they are again sacrificed, and are thence "born in a fire-like woman. Rising upwards to the worlds, "they thus surely revolve. Those who do not know these "two paths, become worms, birds and serpents.[370]

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[370] See *ibidem*, VI, 2, 15—16; "Tē ya ēvam ētad vidur y[illegible]yē śraddhān[illegible]am upāsate tē'rcir abhisambhavantyarciṣō'har ahna āpūryamāṇapak[illegible] āpūryamāṇapakṣād yān ṣaṅmāsān udaṅṅāditya ēti māsēbhyō dēvalōk[illegible] dēvalōkād ādityam ādityād vaidyutam tān vaidyutān puruṣō mānasa ē[illegible] brahmalōkān gamayati tē tēṣu brahmalōkēṣu parāḥ parāvatō vasanti tēṣ[illegible]n na punar āvṛttiḥ (15). Atha yē yajñēna dānēna tapasā lōkāñ jayanti [illegible]dhūmam abhisambhavanti dhūmād rātrim rātrēr apakṣīyamāṇapakṣa[illegible]pakṣīyamāṇapakṣād yān ṣaṇmāsān dakṣiṇāditya ēti māsēbhyaḥ [illegible] pitṛlōkāc candram tē candram prāpyānnam bhavanti, t[illegible] dēvā ya[illegible]hā sōmam rājānam āpyāyasvāpakṣīyasvētyēvam [illegible] bhakṣayanti tēṣām yadā tatparyavaityathēmam ēvākāśam [illegible]yanta ākāśād vāyum vāyōr vṛṣṭim vṛṣṭēḥ pṛthivīm tē pṛthivīm [illegible]ānnam bhavanti, tē punaḥ puruṣāgnau hūyantē tatō yōṣāgnau jāyantē lōkān pratyutthāyinas ta ēvam ēvanuparivartantē'tha ya ētau panthānau na vidus tē kīṭāḥ pataṅgā yad idam dandaśūkam."

The *Chāndōgyōpaniṣad* discusses this subject in two places, in IV, 15, 5 and V, 10, 1—8, the first portion of the latter has already been given on pp., 540, 541. *Chāndōgya* IV, 15, 5 runs as follows: "Atha yadu caivāsmiñ chavyam kurvanti yadi ca nārciṣam ēvābhisambhavantyarciṣō'har ahna āpūryamāṇapakṣam āpūryamāṇapakṣād yān ṣaḍudaṅṅēti māsāṁstān māsēbh[illegible] [illegible]vatsaram saṁvatsarād ādityam ādityāc candramasam candramasō vidyut[illegible]m tatpuruṣō'mānavaḥ sa ēnān brahma gamayatyēṣa dēvapathō brahmapatha ētēna pratipadyamānā imam mānavam āvartam nāvartantē nāvartantē."

I continue the extract from the Chāndōgyōpaniṣad (see p. 541) as it differs considerably from the *Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad*: "Tasmin yāvat sampātam uṣitvā' thaitam ēvādhvānam punar nivartantē yathētam ākāśam ākāśād vāyum vāyur bhūtvā dhūmō bhavati dhūmō bhūtvā' bhram bhavati (5). Abhram bhūtvā mēghō bhavati mēghō bhūtvā pravarṣati ta iha vrīhiyavā ōṣadhivanaspatayas tilamāṣā iti jāyantē'tō vai khalu durniṣprapataram yō yō hyannam atti yō rētaḥ siñcati tad bhūya ēva bhavati (6). Tadya iha ramaṇīyacaraṇā abhyāśō ha yat tē ramaṇīyām yōnim āpadyēran brahmayōnim vā kṣattriyayōnim vā vaiśyayōnim vā' tha ya iha kapūyacaraṇā abhyāśō ha yattē kapūyām yōnim āpadyērañ śvayōnim vā sūkarayōnim vā

The purport of this passage is quite clear. It gives expression to an idea that the spectral body passes into higher or lower spheres according to the merits of its deeds, and describes the return passage of those who have ascended by the *Pitṛyāna* to the blissful abode of the moon: a view which in its outlines, no doubt, was already widely spread among the Indian population before Buddha appeared and preached his doctrine, or else it would not be easy to explain how belief in transmigration could have so quickly found admission into the minds of the Hindus. It is my opinion that the origin of this belief must be traced to the conception of the non-Aryan races who inhabited India in ancient times, and whose descendants still inhabit it.[371]

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caṇḍālayōnim vā (7). Athaitayōḥ pathōr na kataraṇ ca na tān imāni kṣudrāṇyasakṛd āvartīni bhūtāni bhavanti jāyasvā[illegible] ētat tṛtīyam sthānam tēnāsau lōkō na sampūryatē tasmāj jugupsēta. [illegible]ru

The way leads in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka (VI, 2, 15) from the months to the world of the Gods (*dēvalōka*), while in the Chāndōgya it leads to the year (*saṁvatsara*). About this difference between *dēvalōka* and *saṁvatsara* see Śaṅkarācārya's commentary to *Brahmasūtra* IV, 3, 2.

According to the Chāndōgyōpaniṣad the *karmin* after leaving *heaven* becomes respectively ether, air, smoke, mist, cloud and rain; and is reborn as rice, barley, herbs, trees, sesamum or beans, from which state it is very difficult to escape. However, as such plants are eaten, he may obtain rebirth through this process, and, if deserving, be reborn as a Brāhman, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya, while, if unworthy, he will become a dog, a pig, or a caṇḍāla. Compare *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparvan* XC already quoted above.

[371] I disagree with the statement of the late Bishop Caldwell which he makes on p. 581 of the second edition of his excellent *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*: "Neither amongst the Shamanites, nor amongst the primitive, un-Brahmanised demonolaters of India is there any trace of belief in the metempsychosis." The Shamanites whose name is derived from the Sanskrit *śramaṇa*, religious mendicant, believe that the soul is only enabled to obtain the body of a perfect Shamanite after repeated migration through different human bodies. With respect to the primitive Indian demonolaters the remark is far too sweeping, for our knowledge about their religious beliefs is as yet too limited and inaccurate to allow us to make such a positive statement about the principles of their faith. At all events the Todas, whose ethnological connexion with the Gauda-Dravidians I hope to have conclusively proved (*see* pp. 180—193

When speaking of the Sāṅkhya system of *Kapila* I. observed that the admission of Prakṛti into his philosophy must have been due to that very same cause; and it is a most striking coincidence that the term *Ātivāhika* is already found in Kapila's Sūtras, an expression of such vital importance in the doctrine of transmigration.[372] Though it is quite impossible to prove at the present moment what really took place in remote antiquity, I think I am not far from the truth, if I ascribe the Indian doctrine of transmigration to the original inhabitants of Bharatavarṣa. If we do this, all becomes easily explainable; for if the Brāhmans adopted this idea from the Gauda-Dravidians, we need not wonder that this doctrine found so easily general acceptance, and is still so popular in this country, and that Buddhism, which promulgated it, spread so quickly among the people.

Indeed the main difference between the worship of the ancient Aryans and that of the non-Aryans may be stated as consisting in the former revering the *Forces of Nature*, while the latter adored the *Manifestations of the Forces of Nature*. This distinction explains the higher status which characterises the Aryan belief when compared with the non-Aryan. It expresses the gulf which separates the Male from the Female Principle, and it explains the superiority in position

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and 453) believe in transmigration (compare Col. W. E. Marshall's *Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, p. 188), and it is not at all necessary to suppose that they derived this dogma from a foreign source. The same applies to the *Rājmahālīs* (see Col. Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 257). Lieut. Shaw ascribes to the Pahārias (*Tuppahs* of Mudgeway, Ghurry and Munnnāry) a belief in a Supreme Being, in a future state and in transmigration. The soul of a sinful man migrates either into an animal of the brute creation, or into plants (see *Asiatic Researches*, IV, pp. 46 and 48). Lieut. Shaw thinks it probable that the idea about metempsychosis is borrowed from the Hindus. See also Sir W. W. Hunter's *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 210, according to which the Santals believe that good men enter into fruit-bearing trees. I could multiply my quotations on this subject, but all statements *pro et contra* must be taken with reserve.

[372] See *above*, pp. 401—406.

and conception maintained by the Aryan over the non-Aryan divinities. It is also manifested by the tendency towards abstractness so fully developed among the so-called Aryan and Semitic races, in contrast to the predilection towards concreteness so apparent among the non-Aryan tribes; a fact to which I drew attention more than fourteen years ago in my Classification of Languages.

C. On Devils.

In the preceding discussion on the Grāmadēvatās and Aiyanār I had occasion to refer repeatedly to the Devils. The former are regarded as the superiors of the latter, who have to obey their orders. One of the principal duties of the Supreme Spirit or the Great Father and of Mother Earth, *i.e.*, of Aiyanār and the Grāmadēvatā, consists indeed in preventing the Devils from hurting and torturing men.[373] In fact the unbridled malignity of these Demons excited the fear of the people to such a degree, that the religious fervour of the non-Aryan aborigines concentrated itself in a worship for protection against these evil spirits, which eventually assumed the garb of Demon-worship or Demonolatry. In this way the adoration of a Supreme Spirit or Male Divinity and the worship of the principle of Female Energy, as represented by the Grāmadēvata, are quite compatible with the existence and prevalence of demonology in this country. The ancient Akkadians had similarly recourse to their chief gods, *Ea*, the lord of Heaven, and *Davkina*, the lady of the Earth, in order to obtain from them protection against the wicked demons. These people of hoary antiquity invoked the help of the Spirits of the Heaven and of the Earth against the evil spirits when in distressed circumstances, for without their

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[373] See *above*, p. 454.

support the supplication was inefficient. I quote as an example of this kind the following incantations:—

"The wicked god, the wicked demon, the demon of the desert, the demon of the mountain, the demon of the sea, the demon of the marsh, the evil genius, the enormous *Uruku*, the bad wind by itself, the wicked demon which seizes the body, which disturbs the body—Spirit of the Heavens, conjure it; Spirit of the Earth, conjure it!"

"The demon who seizes man, the demon who seizes man, the *Gigim* who works evil, the production of a wicked demon;—Spirit of the Heavens, conjure it; Spirit of the Earth, conjure it."[374]

It is a very curious and interesting incident that these evil spirits, the *Utuq*, *Gigim* and *Maskim*, had particular fractions, derived from the sexagesimal system of numeration, assigned to them according to the position they occupied in the rank of the demoniac company. The fraction indicating the much-feared *Maskim* was $\frac{50}{60}$ or $\frac{5}{6}$, while the *Gigim* were described by $\frac{40}{60}$ or $\frac{4}{6}$, and the *Utuq* by $\frac{30}{60}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$. Whole numbers were on the other hand reserved for the Gods. The belief in the mysterious power inherent in numerals is not confined to the ancient Akkadians and Chaldeans: it pervades the Kabbala and is also found in India, where the Gods likewise are represented by numbers; and this, I deem, the proper place to introduce the following remarks.[375]

It is not unknown that the method of expressing by numbers the secret powers of divine nature has been ascribed to the philosophical system known as the *Sāṅkhya* which relates to *Number*. Aphorisms of this kind, are, however not extant in the present Sāṅkhya. In consequence many learned sages, such as Śaṅkarāchārya, have declared, that

[374] See *above*, pp. 326, 327 about *Ea* and *Davkina* and *Chaldean Magic*, by François Lenormant, pp. 3–11.

[375] See *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 25—27.

the sūtras, at present ascribed to Kapila, were not the same he originally expounded.[376] If we now take into consideration what I have previously said about Kapila, and the foreign source from which his teaching concerning Prakṛti was probably derived, and add to this statement the fact that the antiquity and originality of the Chaldean numeral system is acknowledged by all competent scholars, these suppositions gain much in probability. The ethnological connexion between the original inhabitants of India and those of Chaldea is corroborated by philological and theological evidence, and this further accord in the mysterious use of numerals for the expression of divine secrets, supports the assumption that the teaching of the genuine Kapila was based not on an Aryan, but on a non-Aryan or Turanian foundation.

The Chaldean demons were of two kinds. A cosmical character belongs to the most powerful, who subverted by their nefarious proceedings the regular order of nature. A prominent place among these demons is occupied by the seven malevolent *Maskim*, who ransack heaven and earth, disturb the stars and interfere with their movements, though they themselves live in the bowels of the earth. The generic name of all the inferior Akkadian demons is *Utuq*.[377]

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[376] Compare on this subject the *Discourses on the Bhagavatgītā* by T. Subba Row, B.A., B.L., p. VI.

[377] See *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 26, 27: "We are better acquainted with all that relates to the spirits of an inferior and decidedly malevolent order, the demons properly so called. Their generic names is *Utuq*, which has passed from the Turanian Akkadian into the Semitic Assyrian. The name *Utuq*, however, further takes the more limited and special signification of a particular kind of demons. The other species are the *Alal* or destroyer, called in the Assyrian *Alu*; the *Gigim*, in the Assyrian *Ekim*, the meaning of which is not known; the *Telal* or warrior, in the Assyrian *Gallu*; and lastly the *Maskim* or slayer of ambushes in the Assyrian *Rabits*. As a general rule each class is divided into groups of seven, that most important magical and mysterious number."

The ancient Chaldeans inhabiting under a clear and generally cloudless sky the continuous plains of Mesopotamia possessed rare opportunities of watching the stars and their movements. They assigned peculiar divine powers to the most important stars and to certain clusters. Thus originated the worship of the stars: and of the ancient Chaldean religion Sabæism became an offshoot. That name is derived from the Semitic word *zaba*, army, host. The Sabæans saw in the stars of the heaven the bodies of those Gods, who occupied an intermediate position between the supreme deity and men, over whom they exercised a powerful influence. The planetary gods (Sun, Moon, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn) were represented by images in their temples and thrice worshipped daily. The Sabæans practised astrology and the magic arts, and used talismans against evil spirits. They also believed in the transmigration of souls. Harran in Mesopotamia was their centre during the middle ages. Muhammad opposed Sabæism, and the Koran asserts that Abraham left Ūr Chasdīm in consequence of the prevalence of Sabæism. The *Yezidis* or worshippers of the Devil sprang from the Sabæans. This sect, which suffered great persecution both from Muhammedans and Christians, have a tradition that they came originally from *Bassora*. They revere the Devil as *Melek Taous*, King Peacock, or *Melek el Kout*, the mighty angel, who, now punished and in disgrace for his rebellion, will eventually regain his high position, and who should be revered, because he has at present the power of inflicting evil on mankind, and may afterwards again confer benefits on his worshippers.

The connexion between the ancient Chaldeans, Sabæans and Yezidis is a historical fact; though it need not be specially mentioned that the religion of the latter embodied in itself portions of various beliefs.[378] I introduce

[378] *Nineveh and its remains* by Austin Henry Layard, Vol. I, pp. 296-306. "The Yezidis recognize one Supreme Being; but, as far I could learn,

the tenets of the Yezidis into this discussion in order to prove the development of the Chaldean religion into devil-worship.

The belief in demons came after the Babylonian exile into the Hebrew religion and passed from it over into Christianity.

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they do not offer up any direct prayer or sacrifice to Him . . . The name of the Evil spirit is, however, never mentioned; and any allusion to it by others so vexes and irritates them, that it is said they have put to death persons who have wantonly outraged their feelings by its use. So far is their dread of offending the Evil principle carried, that they carefully avoid every expression which may resemble in sound the name of Satan, or the Arabic word for 'accursed' . . . When they speak of the Devil they do so with reverence as *Melek Taous*, King Peacock, or *Melek el Kout*, the mighty angel . . . They hold the Old Testament in great reverence, and believe in the cosmogony of the Genesis, the Deluge, and other events recorded in the Bible. They do not reject the New Testament, nor the Koran; but consider them always less entitled to their veneration . . . They baptize in water, like the Christians; if possible, within seven days after birth. They circumcize at the same age, and in the same manner as the Mohammedans, and reverence the sun, and have many customs in common with the Sabæans . . . They have more in common with the Sabæans than with any other sect . . . The Yezidis have a tradition that they originally come from Busrah, and from the country watered by the lower part of the Euphrates; and that, after their emigration, they first settled in Syria, and subsequently took possession of the Sinjar hill, and the districts they now inhabit in Kurdistan. This tradition, with the peculiar nature of their tenets and ceremonies, points to a Sabæan or Chaldean origin . . . There is in them a strange mixture of Sabæanism, Christianity, and Mahommedanism, with a tincture of the Gnostics and Manichæans. Sabæanism, however, appears to be the prevailing feature; and it is not improbable that the sect may be a relic of the ancient Chaldees, who have, at various times, outwardly adopted the forms and tenets of the ruling peoples, to save themselves from persecution and oppression; and have gradually, through ignorance, confounded them with their own belief and mode of worship. Such has been the case with a no less remarkable sect, the Sabæans, or Mendai (the Christians of St. John, as they are commonly called), who still inhabit the banks of the Euphrates and the districts of ancient Susiana."

Like the Yezidis so also do the Dravidian *Oraons* acknowledge a Supreme God, as Dharmi or Dharmesh, the Holy One, who is perfectly pure, but whose benevolent designs are thwarted by malignant spirits. Mortals neglect in consequence Dharmesh and adore the evil spirits. (See Col. Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 256.)

Among all the kindred Turanian tribes demonology has thus existed since the oldest times, and we find it still flourishing throughout Northern, Central and Southern Asia: in Siberia as well as in Kamtchatka, Tartary, Mongolia up to the confines of China, in the Himalayan region as well as in the whole Indian Peninsula situated on its southern side. It is found in fact all over India, though it prevails particularly in certain districts, such as Nagpore, Guzerat, Kanara, Malabar, Tinnevelly and Travancore.[379] It is also spread among the inhabitants of the adjacent island of Ceylon.[380]

In Southern India these devils are commonly called *Bhūtas*, *Piśācas* or *Pēys*, the latter word being their name in Tamil.[381] Some Hindus contend that the devils were sent into the world to punish great sinners for their bad deeds by torturing them in this life and after death. Others say that the devils were originally created good, but became bad, and committed such atrocious crimes that they were in consequence cursed and transformed into devils. Their number is always increasing as all join them who die suddenly or meet a violent death, either at their

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[379] See the essays of the late Bishop Caldwell on "*The Shanars of Tinnevelly*," published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1844, and on the "*Ancient Religion of the Dravidians*," VII Appendix, pp. 579—597 of his second edition of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages; the *Bhut Nibandh*, an essay, descriptive of the demonology and other popular superstitions of Guzerat by Dalpatram Daya, translated by Alexander Kinloch Forbes, Bombay (after 1849); *The Land of Charity* by the Rev. Samuel Mateer, London, (1871), pp. 189—226; *The Belief in the Bhutas, Devil and Ghost worship in Western India* by Mr. M. J. Walhouse, in Vol. V (1876), pp. 408—423 of the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*; etc.

[380] About Ceylon consult *Yakkun Nattannawā*, a Cingalese poem, descriptive of the Ceylon system of demonology, translated by John Callaway, late Missionary in Ceylon, London, 1829.

[381] The derivation of the Tamil *Pēy* is unknown. Its original meaning is *evil, bad*; and it is in this sense also applied to wild or obnoxious plants.

own hands or otherwise.[382] Their appearance is horrible; they are represented as quite black, with abominable faces and distorted and emaciated figures. In fact they were so ugly that they took fright at their own hideousness, and ran away when they saw their own images; this was at all events the opinion of the ancient Chaldeans.[383] The chief Ceylonese devil is the *Great Black God*, the son of the queen Karandoo Bānā. He walks and plays in the midst of the Seven Seas; the people who behold him get sick. The *Black Female Devil* dwells under the rocks and stones of

[382] According to the *Bhut Nibandh* by Dalpatram Daya, p. 7, the following persons become Devils, or Bhūtas: "If a man at the time of death has his affections excessively fixed on a son, or a wife, or a house, so that on account of the tenacity of that affection his life does not readily part from his body but quits it after a violent struggle, he, when he dies, becomes a Bhut. The man who dies fighting with his face to his enemy goes to Swarg, and he who in a cowardly manner is slain with his back turned to the foe, departs to Narak. In either case, if at the time of death he has been very solicitous about his property, or any thing else, he becomes a Bhut. He who falls by his own hand, or by poison, or commits any other kind of suicide, becomes a Bhut. He who dies of the bite of a snake, is struck by lightning or drowned, or crushed by the fall of earth, etc., or burned—or when in any other case his death is sudden, becomes a Bhut. He who dies on his bed or in an upper room, or who is defiled after death by the touch of a Sudra, or other defilement, is also a Bhut."

[383] See *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 50—53: "The Chaldeans represented the demons under such hideous forms that they believed that it was sufficient for them to be shown their own image, to cause them to flee away alarmed. The museum of the Louvre has lately bought a very curious bronze statuette of Assyrian workmanship. It is the figure of a horrible demon in an upright position with the body of a dog, the feet of an eagle, the claws of a lion, the tails of a scorpion, the head of a skeleton but half decayed, and adorned with goat's horns, and the eye still remaining, and lastly four great expanded wings. This figure was originally suspended by a ring behind the head. On the back there is an Akkadian inscription, which informs us that this hideous creature was the demon of the South-West wind, and by placing this image at the door of the window, its fatal influence might be averted . . . The monstrous forms thus assigned to the demons, which were composed of parts borrowed from the most different animals, were also, according to Berosus, characteristic features of the first rudimentary beings born in the darkness of chaos, before Bel-Marduk the demiurgus began his work."

the Black Sea, and makes children ill.[384] Devils vary much, however, in outward appearance. They reside generally, as mentioned in the incantation above, in deserts, or mountain peaks, in malarious marshes and in the sea. They prefer to dwell, according to the opinion of the Natives of India, on trees which are not used for sacrificial purposes, especially on palmyra-, umbrella-, or tamarind-trees; some haunt houses, or hover about in the air; some wander restlessly from one place to another, preferring as their homes, burial and burning grounds, gibbets or places of execution.[385] They are always hungry and thirsty. The throats of some are said to be as thin as the eye of a needle, but yet they can swallow at once twelve buckets of water, and as their food they gobble all kinds of dirt and refuse. They delight in perpetrating mischievous and malignant deeds. Their name is legion. The passions which lead men into temptation and afterwards to perdition are personified as Devils, in the form of bad habits and diseases which are peculiar to them and from which they suffer.[386]

[384] See *Yakkun Nattannawā*, pp. 3, 4. The person who represents the *Black Devil* is described as follows: "16. He received permission from sixteen hundred queens; he has a black turban on his head; he has four arms; a sword in one hand, and a shield in the other. A mark was fastened to his head in order to make sixteen faces, like those of a tiger and deer. 17. Having held a great elephant with his two hands and head, he sucked its blood with his mouth, and covered the whole body with the entrails. He is dressed in black habitments, having a picture of the black devil for a vestment, and rides on a bullock. 18. His whole body is black, and he rides on a black bullock. The breast also is black, and a demon is in it. In his left hand is a pool of blood and white food. May the sicknesses caused by the *Black Prince* be taken away this day."

The female figure of the planets has a monkey's face (p. 7), and other evil spirits are differently described.

[385] See *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 30, 31: "In another place it is said that the *Utuq* inhabits the desert, the *Mas* dwells on the heights, the *Gigim* wanders in the desert, the *Telal* steals into towns." Compare *Yakkun Nattannawā*, pp. 2, 3, 6, 8 and 14.

[386] *Ziegenbalg* quotes on pp. 183—186 about eighty such Devils, and Dr. Graul in his *Reise nach Ost-Indien*, IV, p. 333, states that he possesses

According to popular superstition the demons and the mischief worked by them can only be removed by the use of multifarious incantations and by sacrifices, a fact already asserted by Diodorus Siculus when speaking of the Chaldean magi.[387] The Chaldeans were indeed famous for their knowledge of the magic arts. Assarbanipal, king of Assyria, the Sardanapal of the Greek, became such

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a list of 123 Devils and 40 Bhūtas, and that he was told that the number of the latter amounted to 721. The late Rev. Mr. Männer, of the Basel Mission, communicated to me a list of the Bhūtas worshipped in South Kanara, which I have arranged in alphabetical order. The male Bhūtas are the following: Babbariye (slave who became a Muhammedan and did all kinds of mischief), Dāru (slander), Giṇḍe, Gulige (of whom are varieties, the Antargulige or air-haunting G., Caṅkaragulige, Kunyagulige, and Rājandagulige), Gurumarle (fool of a guru), Jārandāye (Bhūta who sits on horseback), Jumādibantē (servant of Jumādi), Kalkuḍe (Bhūta with an umbrella, the stone-mason of the Gauama monument at Karkal), Kalruṭṭi (Bhūta of Kalkude and Orte), Kanberlu (demons of former slaves), Kantanutrijumādibante (servant of K.), Kilu (bare), Kētrāle (gluttonous), Kinnibagge (instigator, who goes a little bent), Kōḍadabbu (demon of Pariahs), Kōḍamanatāye (who rides on a horse), Koragataniye (Koraga born on a Sunday), Kukkendāye (who sits on a Mango tree), Kulatāye (family or tank-bhūta), Kundāye (humble), Kurupergaḍe (the little master), Kuriyāddāye (who plays with boils?), Mallabagge (who is much bent and makes himself invisible), Meisandāye (who rides on an ox), Mēreru (demons of former slaves), Muḍadayē (the eastern), Nalkeitāye (four-handed), Nandigōṇe (blood-sucker), Pañjadāye (who lives in Pañja), Pañjidāye (who keeps pigs), Pañjurli (who rides on a pig), Kippepañjurli (heap of P.), Pañjurlibante (servant of P.), Pattōridāye (prattler), Posa (or Marlajumādi), Puñje (cock), Dēvupuñje, Lakkarasupuñje, (cock of Lakk-Rāja), Naṅkolye (the fettered), and Sonne (winking Bhūta)

Of the female Bhūtas I may mention: Abbage and Dārage (two twin sisters who also died at the same time), Beikaddi (uncombed), Jāvadimalu (virgin), Ekkini (wife who troubles [illegible] husband after death), Jumādi (Kantanutrijumādi or Kanterijumādi, Malejumādi, Marlejumādi or (foolish J., Saralajumādi, Kaorapu (carrion eater), Korati (Holeya woman), Mādakorati, (Holeya-woman on the roof), Kuñjalaḍḍi (forest tramp), Māyandalu (invisible making), Māyelu, Pil-cāmuṇḍi (Tiger-cāmuṇḍi), Pottelu (dumb), Subbi (who shows herself), Taḍḍyadajji (grandmother who sits on the stairs), Tanimaniga (Holeya-woman), Tappedi and Tukātteri (fiery Kātteri).

[387] See Diodorus Siculus, II, 29.

an enthusiastic student of antiquarian, and more especially of theosophical, lore, that in order to spread and promote useful knowledge he opened to the public his large library of clay tablets and papyrus rolls which he had deposited in the temple of Nebo at Nineveh. He also acquired, with great pains, from all quarters of his vast empire, rare and important works on theogony and cosmology, and entertained a great number of writers and copyists to recopy important but fading inscriptions and to compile huge encyclopedias. Among the collections thus made, not the least important are the tablets which contain the formulas of conjuration and incantation. They were arranged in three parts, the first contained the hymns to Gods; the second, incantations for curing diseases; and the third imprecations to drive away wicked demons and spirits. I need not mention that only fragments of this interesting collection have been preserved.

To the chanting of these imprecations supernatural power was ascribed, a power which perhaps in its mode of operation, resembled the more modern display of mesmerism and hypnotism. Specially trained experts were employed at Chaldea for this purpose, who corresponded to the classes of professionals referred to by Daniel.[388]

The evil spirit which entered a person was in ancient Chaldea exorcised by prescribed prayers. The manner in which this was done is described in the following incantation which was used against the *Maskim*, one of the most terrible class of evil spirits:

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[388] See *Daniel* II, 2: Vayyōmer hammelech liqrō laḥartummīm velā-aṣṣāphīm velamchaṣphīm velachchasdīm lehaggīd lammelech ḥalōmōthāv; and *ibidem*, V, 11. The verses are rendered in the English (Oxford) translation of the Bible as follows: Then the king commanded to call the magicians, and the enchanters, and the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans, for to tell the king his dreams (II. 2) . . And the king, thy father made him master of the magicians, enchanters, Chaldeans and soothsayers (V, 11).

"They are seven! They are seven! In the depths of the "ocean, they are seven! In the brilliancy of the ocean they "are seven! They proceed from the ocean depths, from the "hidden retreat. They are neither male nor female, those "which stretch themselves out like chains. They have no "spouse, they do not produce children, they are strangers "to benevolence, they listen neither to prayers nor wishes. "Vermin come forth from the mountain, enemies of the god "Hea, they are the agents of the vengeance of the gods, "raising up difficulties, obtaining power by violence. The "enemies! They are seven! They are seven! The enemies! "are twice seven, Spirit of the heavens, may they be con- "jured! Spirit of the earth may they be conjured!"[389]

The evil demons were turned away from places, by hanging their images on doors or windows.[390] Different sorts of talismans were used. Some acted like incantations to prevent demons from entering into the house, others were fastened to the furniture or to garments, to ensure safety against diseases, demons, and misfortunes. They were made of different material, such as cloth or stone.[391]

All diseases were ascribed to demoniac agency and incantations were uttered to counteract the evil and to restore health to the sufferer. We read thus: "Disease of the "bowels, the disease of the heart, the palpitation of the "diseased heart, disease of the vision, disease of the head,

[389] See *ibidem*, p. 10.

[390] See *ibidem*, p. 52.

[391] See *ibidem*, pp. 46, 47.

On page 8 *Mr. Lenormant* gives a description of a talisman: Two double bands of white cloth upon the bed on the platform as a talisman if h binds on the (right) hand, two double bands of black cloth if he bin left hand, the bad demon, the wicked *Alal*, the wicked *Gigim*, the b the wicked god, the wicked *Maskim*, the phantom, the spectre, the v incubus, succubus, nightmare, wicked sorcery, the philter, liquid that which gives pain, that which hurts, that which is evil, their h his head, their foot upon their foot, they never seize him, they w return. Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth, con

"malignant dysentery, the tumour which swells, ulceration "of the veins, micturition which wastes, cruel agony which "never ceases, nightmare : Spirit of the heavens conjure it! "Spirit of the earth conjure it!"

"Painful fever, violent fever, the fever which never leaves "man, unremitting fever, the lingering fever, malignant "fever : Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the "earth, conjure it!"

"Let the disease of his head depart. May the disease "of his head be dissipated like nocturnal dew. May he "be cured by the command of Hea! May Davkina cure "him!"[392]

All calamities which befall suffering mankind, whether they appear as war, fire, flood, drought or epidemic disease, are in India and in the countries in its vicinity ascribed to the evil demons, as was done in ancient Chaldea, and, in fact, all kinds of maladies but especially those which men suddenly and startle by their frightful aspect, as In cramps, convulsions, epileptic and other fits, are by attul-worshippers imputed to the mischievous agency of evil spirits. In order to cure the patient, supplications must be made directly to the harassing demon, or the aid of a tutelary deity must be invoked, in India the aid of Aiyanar or the Grāmadēvatā is sought, just as the ancient Akkadians called upon the Spirit of Heaven and the Spirit of Earth for protection.

In Ceylon, where demon-worship prevails, the *Great Black God* seizes men and frightens them so that they fall sick with burning colic and inflammation of the bowels, while the demon *Maha Sohon* inflicts chin-cough, leanness of the body, thirst, itching of the body, windy complaints, dropsy, weakness, consumption and madness.[393] For the relief of the sick

[392] See *ibidem*, pp. 4, 5, 22.

[393] See *Yakkun Nattannawā*, pp. 1, 2, 7—13. The devil *Oddy* gives thus swelling, fever, head-ache, inflammation of the bowels, phlegm, colic, consumption, asthma, etc.

no doctor, but conjurors and exorcists are called in. The famous Venetian traveller, *Marco Polo*, when visiting south-western China, witnessed in the province Yunnan the proceedings of such devil-conjurors, who professed to heal the sick by incantations. His graphic and accurate description which is well worthy of being quoted, is given below. [394]

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[394] See *The Book of Sir Marco Polo*, by Col. Henry Yule, C.B., Vol. II, pp. 53—55.

"Let me tell you that in all those three provinces that I have been speaking of, to-wit Carajan, Vochan, and Yachi, there is never a leech. But when any one is ill they send for the Devil-conjurors who are the keepers of their idols. When these are come the sick man tells what ails him, and then the conjurors incontinently begin playing on their instruments and singing and dancing; and the conjurors dance to such a pitch that at least one of them will fall to the ground lifeless, like a dead man. And then the devil entereth into his body. And when his comrades see him in [illegible] they begin to put questions to him about the sick man's affair. And he will reply: 'Such or such a spirit hath been meddling with the man, for that he hath angered the spirit and done it some slight.' Then they say: 'We pray thee to pardon him, and to take unto thyself blood or of his goods what thou wilt in consideration of [illegible] and restore him to health.' And when they have so prayed, the malign spirit that is in the body of the prostrate man will (mayhap) answer: 'The sick man hath also done great despite unto such other spirit, and that one is so ill-disposed that it will not pardon him on any account;'—this at least is the answer they get if the patient be likely to die. But if he is to get better the answer will be that they are to bring two sheep, or may be three; and to brew ten or twelve jars of drink, very costly and abundantly spiced. Moreover it will be announced that the sheep must be all black-faced, or of some other particular colour as it may happen; and then all those things are to be offered in sacrifice to such and such a spirit whose name is given. And they are to bring so many conjurors, and so many ladies, and the business is to be done with a great singing of lauds, and with many lights and store of good perfumes. That is the sort of answer they get if the patient is to get well. And then the kinsfolk of the sick man go and procure all that has been commanded, and do as has been bidden, and the conjuror who had uttered all that gets on his legs again.

So they fetch the sheep of the colour prescribed, and slaughter them, and sprinkle the blood over such places as have been enjoined, in honour and propitiation of the spirit. And the conjurors come, and the ladies, in the number that was ordered, and when all are assembled and everything is ready, they begin to dance and play and sing in honour of the spirit.

These men endeavour by their incantations to expel the devil from the person, in whom he at present abides. Every person, who thinks himself competent, may act the part of an exorcist. The proceedings begin with the usual invocations, and when the presence of the devil has been established by the mad antics of the possessed person, the exorcist begins his proceedings by requesting the devil to leave his present quarters, without giving further trouble, and to discontinue haunting the patient. When, as is to be expected, no notice is taken of this demand, recourse is taken to more forcible means, and the devil in the person who gives shelter to him, is severely beaten and kicked. Eventually the devil submits, and is then asked to give his name, the place whence he came, and the reason for visiting and troubling the person into whose body he entered. After replying to these questions he leaves the place and is then often regaled with a sumptuous repast, in order to pacify him and to cover with marks of respect his undignified retreat. Such sacrifices, and the ceremonies observed at them, are with slight differences throughout the same, although the taste of different demons very often does vary, some preferring a goat, while others have a

And they take flesh-broth, and drink, and lign-aloes, and a great number of lights, and go about hither and thither, scattering the broth and the drink and the meat also. And when they have done this for a while, again shall one of the conjurors fall flat and wallow there foaming at the mouth, and then the others will ask if he have yet pardoned the sick man? And sometimes he shall answer yes! and sometimes he shall answer no! And if the answer be *no*, they shall be told that something or other has to be done all over again, and then he shall be pardoned; so this they do. And when all that the spirit has commanded has been done with great ceremony, then it will be announced that the man is pardoned and shall be speedily cured. So when they at length receive such a reply, they announce that it is all made up with the spirit, and that he is propitiated, and they fall to eating and drinking with great joy and mirth, and he who had been lying lifeless on the ground gets up and takes his share. So when they have all eaten and drunken, every man departs home. And presently the sick man gets sound and well."

greater liking for a cock, a pig or some other animal. There exists, however, with respect to intoxicating liquor a great agreement of opinion as to its being acceptable.[395]

I have already alluded to the dances which form a prominent feature of demon-worship. Such dances are of common occurrence among the Shanars in Tinnevelly; and in Ceylon the dancers, who perform, appear to put on hideous masks differing according to the external appearance of the demon represented.[396] The principal part at such an occasion is played by the chief or one of the leading men of the village, occasionally also by some man or woman who is moved by the spirit. The person, who enacts the part of the demon appears in peculiarly monstrous garments and decorations, resembling as nearly as possible the demon whom he represents. As the dance is accompanied by music, it may be mentioned that one of the most prominent musical instruments, besides dom-toms, horns, and clarionets is an enormous bow, which is placed over an empty brass-pot. On its wooden frame are tied rows of bells, and to it are tightly fastened a number of strings. By striking the latter a shrill sound is produced which is accompanied by the tinkling bells and the vibrations from the brass-pot, which is struck with the hand. When all things are ready, the musicians begin to play a slow and quiet tune on their instruments, while some one beats time with his hands. At this moment the devil-dancer appears and commences to move about slowly. By degrees the music becomes quicker and shriller, and with it the performer getting more excited, whirls round in a frenzy, and flourishes his staff covered with bells, until

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[395] Read *above*, p. 488.

[396] See Bishop Caldwell's *Tinnevelly Shanars* and his essay on the *Ancient Religion of the Dravidians*, quoted above on pp. 585, 586. Compare also *Yakkun Nattannawā*, p. 3, and *the Practices of a Capua*, *ibidem*, pp. 16—21.

he has worked himself to such a state of excitement, that he loses all control over his movements, and the demon appears to have taken possession of him. When he has arrived at such a condition the people worship him as a deity, and the bystanders ask him questions on all subjects about which they desire to get information, to which question they obtain somehow obscure and oracular answers. These devil dances are generally performed at night.[397]

[397] In the *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* by Colonel Edward Tinte Dalton, C.S.I., on pp. 232, 233 is described a similar dance of the Muasis, which was often witnessed by Captain Samuells: "The Baiga is always the medium of communication, but he assembles the people to aid him in the invocation. Musical instruments are produced, dancing commences, and the invocation to the spirit is chanted until one or more of the performers manifest possession by wild rolling of the eyes and involuntary spasmodic actions of the muscles. ... The affection appears contagious, and old women and others who have not been dancing become influenced by it in a manner that is horrible to contemplate. ... The affection, says Captain Samuells, comes on like a fit of ague, lasting sometimes for a quarter of an hour, the patient or possessed person writhing and trembling with intense violence, especially at the commencement of the paroxsym. Then he is seen to spring from the ground into the air, and a succession of leaps follow, all executed as though he were shot at by unseen agency. During this stage of the seizure he is supposed to be quite unconscious, and rolls into the fire, if there be one, or under the feet of the dancers without sustaining injury from the heat or the pressure. This lasts for a few minutes only, and is followed by the spasmodic stage. With hands and knees on the ground and hair loosened, the body is convulsed, and the head shakes violently, whilst from the mouth issues a hissing or gurgling noise. The patient next evincing an inclination to stand on his legs, the bystanders assist him and place a stick in his hand, with the aid of which he hops about, the spasmodic action of the body still continuing and the head performing by jerks a violently fatiguing circular movement. This may go on for hours, though Captain Samuells says that no one in his senses could continue such exertion for many minutes. When the Baiga is appealed to, to cast out the spirit, he must first ascertain whether it is Gansām himself or one of his familiars that has possessed the victim. If it be the great Gansām, the Baiga implores him to desist, meanwhile gently anointing the victim with butter; and if the treatment is successful, the patient gradually and naturally subsides into a state of repose from which he rises into consciousness, and restored to his normal state, feels no fatigue or other ill-effects from the attack."

Malabar and Kanara are likewise wellknown centres of the devil-worship. Mr. *M. J. Walhouse* gives an interesting account of a devil dance in a village in Kanara :—

"The festival always takes place at night, and about 9 o'clock all the villagers assemble in their best attire, the women wearing all their ornaments, and their heads, as well as often the men's, thickly garlanded with flowers. Tom-toms and drums are beaten, and the Pujāri, or priest, takes the Bhūta-sword and bell in his hands, and whirls round and round, imitating the supposed mien and gestures of the demon. But he does not aspire to full possession, which in aboriginal rites like these is only given to a representative of the aboriginal tribes, now the lowest castes. A Dhēr, one of the slave caste, at other times regarded with contempt, but now advanced to the foremost post, comes forward naked, save a waist-band, and with all his head and body grotesquely and frightfully besmeared with white, yellow and red paint. Over his head, and tied to his back, there is a sort of an arch, termed Ani, made of green cocoa-tree leaves, with their ends radiating out. For some time he paces up and down, within a ring formed by the crowd, flinging about his arms, gesticulating wildly, leaping, and shaking his body furiously. Meanwhile a dozen or more tom-toms and drums are beaten incessantly and stunningly, with a continually increasing din; and the Dhēr presently breaks into a maniac dance, capering, bounding, and spinning vehemently, whilst the instruments redouble their noise, the power of the Bhūta being estimated by the fury and persistence with which the Dhēr dances. The multitude around joins in raising a long, monotonous, howling cry, with a peculiar vibration. At length the Dhēr stops, he is full of the demon, and stands fixed and rigid, with staring eyes. Presently he speaks, or rather the demon speaks from him, in loud, hoarse, commanding tones, wholly unlike his own, or indeed any natural voice. He addresses the headman of the village first, and then the principal inhabitants in due order, for any neglect of etiquette on this point by the Bhūta would infallibly give rise to great resentment. After thus speaking to the principal villagers and asking whether all the people are present, the possessed Dhēr goes on to say that the Bhūta is pleased with the performance of the ceremony, and exhorts all the people to behave justly and charitably to one another. Various disputes and litigated matters, especially when evidence and ordinary means of adjustment fail, are then brought forward and submitted to the decision of the Bhūta, and his award, pronounced through the Dhēr, is generally, though not always, submitted to. After this the demon desires to have food, and the Dhēr eats fried rice and drinks the milk of young cocoanuts; or, if the demon he represents be one of low degree, he eats animal food and drinks arrack. He then distributes areca flowers and pieces of cocoanut to all assembled in due order of precedence, and the Bhūta passes away from him, he loses his commanding mien and tones, and relapses into the servile drudge."[305]

[305] See Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. V, pp. 413, 414.

Among the Wagries, Bhils and other aboriginal tribes in the Dekhan and Guzerat the same customs prevail; the principal demons there are named Khodiyal, Meladī, Senābī, Barochi, Ṭoṭā[illegible]yā, Śikotar, Kesurbai, Vantri, the Khapar Yōginīs, th[illegible]mbdis and Vissoti. The first six of these are demons ar[illegible]e last six are demonesses. Vissoti is said to occupy a superior position among these demons, and not to be altogether bad-natured. Some of the abovementioned devils, like the Śenābī, do not enter into bodies, but are invoked to drive away the devils who have taken possession of men.[399]

[399] I obtained this information from a native gentleman of Ahmedabad. Mount Girnar near Junagar is the principal seat of *Khodiyal*, who is worshipped throughout Guzerat by offerings, consisting respectively of 5¼ seers of Labshi (wheat flour mixed with jaggery and boiled in water), 1¼ seer of jaggery, ¾ seer of sugar, a goat and a bottle or more of liquor. *Śikotar* is the wandering ghost of an impious woman who enters the bodies of men and is driven out by a *Bhuva* or devil-priest. She is also at times revered as the goddess of the sea, who restores ships which have been wrecked at sea, and stories are told to this effect. The *Yōginīs* are of three kinds, *Pul*-(flower), *Lāl*-(red) and Kēśur-(hair) Yōginīs. They are invoked when epidemics, especially cholera, rage in the country. With their hair hanging over their shoulders, their faces painted with red colour, the Bhuvas assemble at a prominent Yōginī-temple, and after having partaken of a liberal supply of intoxicating liquor, jump about, pretending that the Yōginī has entered them, and that they speak in her name. At first the Pulyōginī appears alone, complaining about the neglect she and her sisters have suffered threatening the arrival of her sisters Lalyōginī and Keśuryōginī, if she is not properly appeased now. The people made then in their homes the requested sacrifices consisting of a goat, rice, ghee and liquor, and in the evening Pulyōginī is in a small carriage, resembling a children's toy, taken with tomtom beating out of the town, and in the dead of night drives to the limits of the neighbouring village, where the chief Bhuva leaves her without looking backwards. The inhabitants of the next village when they find the carriage on the next morning are frightened by the arrival of Pulyōginī and send her with similar ceremonies to another village. The *Zambdis* are the ghosts of bad women and are distinguished as Pul, Rambhā, Dīpa, Dharma, Juhu and Dhunba-Zambdis. Dākinī and Chudel are included in this group. These Zambdis appear generally in different shapes deluding benighted travellers on their way.

I give these details about the Guzerati deities with the intimation, that I have not been able to verify them.

The Piśācas are in South India attended by peculiar demoniac servants, who are popularly known as *Bhūtas*. They are small, but stout and [illegible]our. Pigtails surround their heads, their faces are [illegible] and lion fangs protrude from their mouths. As they are created for the special purpose of being servants, they do not mind doing the lowest and most menial services, and are quite satisfied with their position, which cannot be said of the Piśācas. The Bhūtas are generally employed as gatekeepers of their masters, watching those who enter and go away, or fetching or carrying off somebody.[400] In the Persian plays which are often performed in India, black Devils or Piśācas and red Bhūtas appear and serve in the court of Indra.

The temples which are dedicated to the worship of the devils present generally a very mean appearance, though some are of considerable size. The majority of these places are constructed of mud, without stone or brick, in a pyramidal form, covered with white-wash and streaks of red ochre, a stone or a small heap of earth serving as an altar. Occasionally a low square groundwork of stones or bricks terminates in a pyramid or obelisk, the angles of the pyramid generally corresponding with the cardinal points. These pyramidal obelisks are according to the late Bishop Caldwell a distinguishing characteristic of devil worship.[401]

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[400] See *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 186 and 187.

[401] Compare Bishop Caldwell's *Tinnevelly Shanars*: "The places in which the demons are worshipped are commonly termed *Pē-cōils*, or devil temples. A heap of earth raised into a pyramidical shape and adorned with streaks of white-wash, sometimes alternating with red ochre, constitutes in the majority of cases, both the temple, and the demon's image, and a smaller heap in front of the temple with a flat surface forms the altar. The devil-pyramid is sometimes built of brick and stuccoed over; and when thus built of coherent materials it rises into something of the shape of an obelisk. So far as I have seen, the angles of the pyramid are made to correspond with the cardinal points. Its height rarely exceeds eight feet and is generally less than five. This pyramidal obelisk is a distinguishing characteristic of devil-worship."

According to the Rev. S. Mateer a small pyramidal erection or obelisk of four or five feet in height stands in front of a devil temple, or even by itself.[402] These obelisk shrines represent, no doubt, a very ancient style of architecture. It is here worth mentioning that of the two kinds of temples which are found among the Todas, the *Boa* (*Boath*) which is regarded as the older form of building and of which there are only four left on the hills, is such a conical structure looking from a distance exactly like a church-steeple. These conical shrines are surrounded by a circular wall.[403]

[402] See Mateer's Land of Charity, p. 213: "*Pē coils*, or devil temples, are very numerous throughout the country. They bear no resemblance whatever to the Brahmanical idol temples, being in general mere sheds, a few yards in length, open at one end, and mostly quite empty. Indeed, images are no essential element in demonworship. In front of the devil-temple, or sometimes without any covered edifice, there stands a small pyramidal erection or obelisk four or five feet in height, generally built of brick and stuccoed which is always associated with this worship and takes the place of an image; but it is impossible to ascertain the origin or meaning of this symbol."

Mr. M. J. Walhouse says *loco citato*, p. 412: "The general buildings dedicated to these demons are called Bhūtastāns, and when dedicated to one of the superior, or very popular, Bhūtas, sometimes of considerable size; but far more commonly a small plain structure, four or five yards deep, by two or three wide, with a door at one end, covered by a portico supported on two pillars, with a thatched roof, and windowless. In front of it there are usually three or four T-shaped pillars, the use of which is not clear. They are said to denote that the building is a Bhūtastān, and flowers are placed, and cocoanuts broken on them at ceremonies. Inside the Bhūtastān there is usually a number of images roughly made in brass in human shape, or resembling animals, such as pigs, tigers, fowls, etc. These are brought out and worshipped as symbols of the Bhūtas on various ceremonial occasions. The Bhūtas themselves are usually represented by mere rough stones."

[403] See *above*, p. 186. The priest in charge of a Boa is a *Vorshāl* or sacrifice man, who belongs to the second class of priests. Some scholars doubt, whether the Boas, though now appropriated by the Todas were erected by them. See Col. Marshall's *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, pp. 168, 169 and Mr. Breeks' *Account of the Nilagiris*, pp. 14, 15.

From the foregoing exposition I may now be permitted to deduce a few conclusions. The simple and poetic worship paid in the Vedic songs to the physical forces of Nature, gave place in course of time on the one hand to a rigid, sacrificial ceremonial, propounded and enforced by priests, and on the other, to an exposition of philosophical systems trying to explain in a more liberal way the creation and existence of the Universe. These systems were already at an early period modified by contact with the ideas entertained on this subject by a foreign race, which occupied India. These non-Aryans belonged to the great Turanian race which reigned then over civilised Asia, with Mesopotamia as their centre. They believed in the existence of one Supreme Spirit of heaven, with whom was associated and admitted to an equal, and eventually even superior, share of power the Goddess of the Earth. Both ruled supreme over the good as well as the evil spirits who disturbed and tortured men; over men and the entire world. Associated with this doctrine was a belief in the transmigration of souls after death. The combination of these Aryan and non-Aryan systems affected the beliefs of both nations, and the result of this connexion is apparent in the present religious state of India.

PART IV.

THE BHARATAS.

CHAPTER XX.

Introductory Remarks.

The hope which I expressed at the beginning of the third Part that an inquiry into the system of Indian theogony would corroborate the conclusions that had been previously arrived at by the linguistic evidence, has not been disappointed. Both inquiries indeed have elicited the fact, that the Aborigines of India belong on the whole to one and the same race which being composed of Gaudians and Dravidians I should like to call *Bharatan*. In order to determine for a race the position to which its thinking powers entitle it, or to ascertain, as it were, its mental index, it is necessary to study the formation of its thoughts, in their linguistic and philosophical, or rather religious, aspects as revealed in the framing of words and sentences, and in the expression of ideas. For finally fixing, however, the place to which an individual or a community is entitled in the ranks of mankind, the condition of the mental qualifications must be supplemented by physical evidence, such as ethnology alone is able to furnish. It is therefore of great importance that the results of the ethnological investigation concerning the population of India should coincide with those gained by the help of philology and theology. In fact these three sciences agree in their conclusions that only two chief races exist in India.[1]

[1] Read *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, by H. H. Risley, Ethnographic Glossary, Vol. I, pp. XXX, XXXI: "The data thus obtained from 6,000 persons, representing 89 of the leading castes and tribes in Northern India,

With these remarks I may proceed now to inquire into the political status of the ancient inhabitants of India. The two principal and rival races we meet here, are styled in Sanskrit *Ārya* and *Anārya*, names which correspond to the modern Aryan and non-Aryan, the latter being also described as *Dasyu* and *Dāsa*.[2] The former represents the invaders of India, the latter its original inhabitants; for even if the Bharatas or Gauda-Dravidians had at an earlier period immigrated into India, we possess no information about this fact, and, so far as our knowledge goes, they occupied the country at a pre-Aryan epoch on both sides of the Himalayan mountains.

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from the Bay of Bengal to the frontiers of Afghanistan, enable us to distinguish two extreme types of feature and physique, which may be provisionally described as Aryan and Dravidian. A third type which in some respects may be looked upon as intermediate between these two, while in other, and perhaps the most important, points it can hardly be deemed Indian at all, is found along the northern and eastern borders of Bengal. .... With this type, which may conveniently be described as Mongoloid, we have for our present purpose no immediate concern. Except in the districts of Assam and North-Eastern Bengal, it has contributed comparatively little to the evolution of caste as it now exists in India, and may be left out of consideration in the attempt to trace the stages of growth by which the prevailing state of things has been arrived at.

See *Die Anthropologie Indiens* von *Emil Schmidt*, p. 3. "Das Endresultat der mühevollen ausgedehnten Untersuchung ist, dass wir es in Indien, wenn wir von dem ausgesprochen fremdartigen Rassenelement der mongolischen Bewohner der Nordgrenzen absehen, wesentlich mit zwei verschiedenen Rassen zu thun haben. Schon die ältesten Urkunden, die Veden, lassen einen Kampf zweier verschiedener ethnischer Elemente erkennen, einen Kampf der zu tiefgreifenden socialen Gegensätzen geführt hat. Dass, aber diese soziale Sonderung (die Kaste) *varṇa*, d. h. Farbe genannt wird, ist bezeichnend dafür, dass ursprünglich der Gegensatz ein solcher des Blutes war; es war der Kampf einer eingewanderten, hellhäutigen mit einer schon ansässigen dunkelhäutigen Rasse. Die exakten Untersuchungen Risley's bestätigen von naturwissenschaftlicher Seite her die auf historischer Grundlage gewonnene Anschauung. Es handelt sich danach um zwei Grundformen."

1. Der *arische Typus*.
2. Der *dravidische Typus*."

[2] See *above*, p. 13.

We are likewise without any reliable information about the events which marked the progress of the Aryan invasion and conquest of India, but thus much is clear, that no sooner had the country been finally occupied, and its former inhabitants been subdued or expelled, than the victors began to quarrel among themselves, and open strife and war broke out between the several tribes hitherto united in kindred friendship. The songs of the Ṛgvēda are full of the valorous deeds performed in such internecine expeditions, which became the more frequent, the more the resistance of the aborigines declined, for the less the Aryans had to fear them, the more they could indulge in combats among themselves. Occasionally the excessive strength of one tribe gave to others a welcome pretext to oppose and subdue it, and in order to overthrow the growing ascendency of a clan, confederacies were formed to remove the danger which threatened the independence of the rest. Among such confederacies one of the most renowned is that of the five tribes, which comprised the *Turvaśa, Yadu, Anu, Druhyu* and *Pūru*.[3] The various wars which were waged by

[3] In the Vēda text occur the following terms denoting five races: *pañca kṛṣṭayaḥ* (Ṛg. III, 2, 10; 53, 16); *pañca kṣitayaḥ* (Ṛg. I, 7, 9; 176, 3; V, 35, 2, etc.); *pañca carṣaṇayaḥ* (Ṛg. V, 86, 2; VII, 75, 4); *pañca janāḥ* (Ṛg. III, 37, 9; 59, 8, etc.); *pañca mānavāḥ* (*Atharv.* II, 21, 5; XII, 1, 15); *pañca mānuṣāḥ* (Ṛg. VIII, 9, 2), etc. The expression *five races* refers probably to the five tribes above mentioned who occur thus in Ṛg. I, 108, 8, as Professor Kuhn has first pointed out. Elsewhere in Yāska's Nirukta III, 8, (see Roth's edition, p. 54) *pañca janāḥ* are explained as: "Gandharvāḥ pitarō dēvā, asurā rakṣāṁsi"; and in the Aitarēyabrāhmaṇa III, 31, we read: "Pāñcajanyam ētad uktham yadvaiśvadēvam sarvēṣām vā ētat pañca janānām uktham dēvamanuṣyāṇāṁ gandharvāpsarasāṁsarpāṇām ca pitṛṇām ca." In the Sanskrit dictionary of Professors *Böthlingk* and *Roth*, Vol. II, p. 412, we find under the word *kṛṣṭi*: "Die fünf Völkerschaften (*pañca kṛṣṭayaḥ*; vgl. auch *kṣiti, carṣaṇi, jana*) als Bezeichnung für *alle Völker*, nicht blōss für die arischen Stämme; eine alte Zählung, über deren Ursprung wir in den vedischen Texten keinen ausdrücklichen Aufschluss finden. Vergleichen kann man, dass die Welträume oder Richtungen öfters als fünf gezählt werden . . . wobei man als fünfte Richtung die nach

Sudās, the famous king of the Tṛtsus, brought about such alliances in which Aryans and non-Aryans fought together on both sides. It is indeed very difficult to decide in every single case whether a tribe is of Aryan or of non-Aryan origin, because the evidence on this point is so deficient that the opinion of scholars is of necessity much divided. General opinion is unanimous on the point that the Tṛtsus were a powerful Aryan tribe, and that the jealousy of the two great Brahmanic sages, Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, who at various times occupied the office of high priest to king Sudās, caused to a great extent those wars which ended at last with the disastrous overthrow of the Tṛtsus. Even after Viśvāmitra had been compelled to make room for his rival, fortune remained faithful to Sudās. He defeated king Bhēda, and under the guidance of Vasiṣṭha the Bharatas, to whom Viśvāmitra belonged, were broken like staves (Ṛg. VII, 13, 18, 19; VII, 33, 3, 6, etc.), and the ten kings who opposed king Sudās were thoroughly defeated in the battle on the banks of the Paruṣṇī (Ṛg. VII, 18; 33, 6, 8).[4] But the Aryans on either side were not strong enough to fight these combats unaided with any chance of success, and hence required the support of allies, whom they sought and found in the camps of their national foes who took part in this battle of the ten kings. The non-Aryan Pak-

der Mitte . . . d. h. die Arier als Mittelpunkt und um sie herum die Nationen der vier Weltgegenden zu zählen hatte; vergl. die entsprechende Fünftheilung von Indien bei Hiuen-thsang . . . Nach vedischem Sprachgebrauch darf die Zahl fünf nicht als Bezeichnung einer unbestimmten Vielheit angesehen werden." The five tribes are mentioned by name *Rgvēda*, I, 108, 8)—Yayāti, mentioned in the *Rgveda*, I, 31, 17 and X, 63, 1, is in the latter place called the son of Nahuṣa, and is in the Mahābhārata (*Ādiparvan* LXXV) and the Purāṇas named as the father of Turvaśa and Yadu (by Dēvayānī) and of Anu, Druhyu and Pūru by Śarmiṣṭhā. Read Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, pp. 719—722, 726 and *Anhang*, pp. XX and XXI, and compare Roth's *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda*, pp. 132, 133.

[4] See pp. 582, 596—598.

thas, Bhalānas, Alinas, Śivas and Viṣāṇins fought on the side of Aryans against Aryans and non-Aryans.[5] Many tribal names besides the above mentioned occur in the Ṛgvēda, such as the Ajas, Bharatas, Cēdis, Gandhāris, Kīkaṭas, Ruśamas, Śaṇḍikas, Śigrus, Śimyus, Uśīnaras, Vaikarṇas, Yakṣus and others. Except in a few cases where the Aryan or non-Aryan origin of a clan is pretty well ascertained, as *e.g.* the Aryan extraction of the Tṛtsus and the non-Aryan of the Kīkaṭas, we are quite in the dark as to the ethnological race to which most of these tribes belonged. The *Anus* are thus by some claimed as Aryans, while others explain the term *Anu* as applying to non-Aryan people, and the Bharatas are identified with the Kolarian race.[6]

Another difficulty in this inquiry is the uncertainty felt in knowing or deciding whether a proper name, if used in the singular number, applies to an individual, to a family, or to a tribe, for the exact meaning often cannot be gathered from the context; as is the case with names like Dṛbhīka,[7] Kavaṣa, Nahuṣa, Sṛñjaya, Turukṣa, Tugra, Vētasu, and others. It is also possible that the plural of the name of a person occurring in the Vēda, only applies to his posterity, and not to a tribe, the wider meaning being also

[5] See *Ṛgvēda* VII, 18, 7.

[6] The Aryan nationality of the Anu is upheld by Professor Zimmer, the non-Aryan by Professors Lassen, Böthlingk, Roth, Grassmann, and Mr. Hewitt.

Professor Lassen says *Indische Alterthumskunde*, p. 719: "Von seinem vierten Sohne *Anu* oder *Anava* werden die Geschlechter der *Mlēkha* abgeleitet and nach dem Norden verlegt. *Anu* bedeutet eigentlich Mensch, im Veda wird die Bedeutung jedoch beschränkt auf ferne, dem Arischen fremde Völker, und das Wort bedeutet nur scheinbar einen besondern Volkstamm."

Mr. J. F. Hewitt has assigned a Kolarian origin to the Bharatas and conjectures that the Anus, identifying them with the Kathi, were also Kolarians.

[7] *Dṛbhīka* is by the German lexicographers decribed as a demon, while Professor Ludwig (Vol. III, p. 207) thinks he recognizes in them a tribe which reminds him of the Δερβικες and Δερβικαι.

admissible, especially when referring to a feudal community, such as prevailed among the Scotch clans.

As the Ṛgvēda is a compilation of songs by different authors of different times, it is, I think, rather hazardous to use the language or the meaning of one stanza or song for the explanation or interpretation of another, unless the authors of both are the same, or cogent reasons favor such a proceeding. If we meet thus with considerable obstacles in elucidating the details of the clan-formation in Vedic times, we must also on the other hand not overlook that, however deficient our knowledge of this period is and always will be, so much is certain that the Aryan invasion of North India was successful, that the border-country was permanently conquered, and that the subjugation of the adjacent provinces to Aryan rule had in consequence become an inevitable destiny. It is, however, quite a different matter to dilate on the ethnological constitution of the invaders, whether or not they formed a homogeneous group of Aryan tribes. It is not only possible, but also highly probable, that friendly aliens swelled their ranks, and that, as is generally the case with migrating peoples, the weaker tribes whom they had dispossessed were compelled to follow in their tracks. When immigrating, or victoriously invading, swarms of people settle down as a stable community, their various heterogeneous component elements amalgamate gradually into one national body, which presents to the outside world the aspect of a united nation, when even its multigenerous origin is still conspicuous and lives fresh in the memory of others. By and by with increasing power, the admission to citizenship will be rendered difficult, till it may be altogether denied to newcomers. We have in the United States of North America a modern instance of the formation of such a state, and the foundation of Venice by frightened fugitives who were joined by bold

adventurers was followed in course of time by the establishment of the proudest aristocracy, which displayed its exclusiveness by the closing of the golden book. A like fate befell the Aryan settlement in India, which, free and liberal in its constitution at the beginning, became by degrees conservative and exclusive, till at last by priestly preponderance it developed the most successful and pernicious system of caste the world has ever known. Yet before this social edifice had assumed the immutable form it now exhibits, there preceded a time when its various portions existed separately and were not mixed with others. There can be no doubt that though the national Aryan stock prevailed among the Brāhmans, many foreign bodies had joined before it became consolidated as a Brahmanic caste: but once thus constituted it remained on the whole unchangeable, even if at times strange elements found access to it in a surreptitious manner.

In spite of all the difficulties which surround this ethnological mystery the Vēda has preserved some slight intimations which may throw light on this important question.

Among the most interesting episodes which are found in the Ṛgvēda, Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa and other Vedic writings, as well as in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas, must be numbered the rivalry and contest between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra.

On Vasiṣṭha.

The origin and history of the life of Vasiṣṭha have, from the importance attached to them, always been a subject of the greatest interest and even in ancient times were the favorite topic of legendary accounts.[8] In

[8] Among European scholars Professor von Roth in his *Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda*, Professor Christian Lassen in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Professor Albrecht Weber in his *Indische Studien*, Professor Max Müller in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, and Dr. John Muir in his *Original Sanskrit Texts* (especially in Vol. I) have much contributed to the elucidation of this Vedic period.

the Ṛgvēda he appears as a sage, a priest and a poet, its seventh maṇḍala being ascribed to him. As the domestic chaplain of king Sudās, the grand-son of Pijavana and the famous king of the Tṛtsus,[9] he became the rival of Viśvamitra. He is said to have belonged to the tribe of the Tṛtsus, to whose king, Sudās, the Mahābhārata alludes as a Śūdra; a circumstance which proves how little historical reliance can be placed on that epic![10] He was a friend of Varuṇa, but having lost his favour, in order to regain it he humbly implores the forgiveness of the incensed God.[11] He teaches Indra the Virāj metre, and in return receives for this instruction the explanation of the formula of expiation (*prāyaścitta*);[12] the same God also imparts to Vasiṣṭha the devotion (*brahman*), while to Viśvāmitra he only grants the recitation (*uktha*).[13]

Vasiṣṭha is called the son of Varuṇa and Mitra and of the nymph Urvaśī. For when he had inconsiderately caused *Nimi* to lose his bodily form, the king retaliated by pronouncing a similar curse against his former domestic priest, in consequence of which Vasiṣṭha's male energy entered into Varuṇa and Mitra, but left them at the sight of Urvaśī. As Agastya was born on the same occasion, he became, as it were, a brother of Vasiṣṭha.[14]

The enmity of Viśvāmitra subjected Vasiṣṭha to many trials and hardships. He lost all his hundred sons. His son Śakti was either killed by the sons of Sudās, or all his sons were according to the Mahābhārata and Sāyaṇa's com-

[9] See *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 18, 4, 5; 21—25; VII, 33, 1—6, etc. Sudās is also occasionally called the son of Pijavana.

[10] See *Śāntiparvan*, LX, 38: Śūdraḥ Paijavanō nāma sahasrāṇām śatam dadau.

[11] See *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 86.

[12] See *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XII, 6, 1, 38.

[13] See *Saḍviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*, 1, 5.

[14] See *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 33, 10, 11; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, 5, 6, and *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, IX, 13, 1—13.

mentary to Ṛgvēda VII, 104, 12, devoured by a Rākṣasa. Conformably to the Epic the machinations of Viśvāmitra made king Kalmāṣapāda, the son of Sudāsa, when transformed into a man-eating Rākṣasa, swallow all the sons of Vasiṣṭha.[15] Sāyaṇa connects the murder of Vasiṣṭha's sons with this story and explains the Vedic verse in which the bereaved sage indignantly repudiates the accusation of being a Rākṣasa or Yātudhāna, which had been insidiously brought against him, as referring to the calumnious statement that Vasiṣṭha had in the shape of a Rākṣasa eaten his own sons.[16] In this state of mind Vasiṣṭha preferred death to revenge, and tried to destroy himself by first throwing himself from the summit of mount Mēru, then by walking into the blazing forest-fire, again by hurling himself with a heavy stone tied on to his neck into the sea, and lastly by drowning himself in the swollen waters of the Vipāśā Hard as he tried, however, he could not obtain his desire to lose his life.

The respect in which Vasiṣṭha was held and the worship which he secured after his death, elevated him to a divine

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[15] Compare the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*, VII, 4, 7, 1. See also Mahābhārata, *Ādiparvan*, CLXXVIII, about Kalmāṣapāda, the son of Sudāsa, 22nd descendant of Triśaṅku, meeting Śaktṛ, the son of Vasiṣṭha, in the road, and the consequences of their quarrel. It appears that both reports refer to the same occurrence, and perhaps the persons alluded to in the T. S. as the Saudāsāḥ and Kalmāṣapāda, the son of Sudāsa, (and in consequence a Saudāsa) are really identical with each other.

[16] See *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 104, 12. According to Sāyaṇa in his commentary, v. 12, a Rākṣasa who had slain the hundred sons of Vasiṣṭha, assumed the form of the latter, saying that he (the Rākṣasa) was Vasiṣṭha and Vasiṣṭha the Rākṣasa.

" Hatvā putr[illegible]sya mahātmanaḥ
Vasiṣṭham r[illegible]
Aham Vasiṣṭ[illegible] Rākṣasō' bhravīt
Atrōttarā ṛcō[illegible]naḥ śrutam."

See the end of the [illegible]tory remark of Sāyaṇa to Ṛgvēda VII, 104, where he quotes the *Bṛh[illegible]ddēvatā* as follows :

Ṛṣir dadarśa r[illegible]akṣōghnam putraśōkaparipluta[illegible]
hatē putraśat[illegible]e kruddhaḥ Saudāsair duḥkhitas tadā.

position. Manu mentions him as one of the ten Maharṣis;[17] the Viṣṇupurāṇa acknowledges him in one place as one of the nine mind-born sons of Brahman, while he is called in another one of the seven sages of the present or Vaivasvata Manvantara.[18] The Mahābhārata also is not consistent in this respect. The Ādiparvan does not include his name among the six great sages, but the Śāntiparvan adds him as the seventh, and names him also as one of the twenty-one Prajāpatis:[19] the Rāmāyaṇa, however, is silent on this subject.

Vasiṣṭha had various wives. By Urjjā he had seven sons, but Śakti (or Śaktṛ) was not one of these. Another wife Akṣamālā is said to have been of low birth, but was elevated to a high position by her husband; some identify her with Arundhatī, who is well known as being the zealous and jealous wife of the sage. She is regarded as one of the Pleiades, and by her union with Vasiṣṭha was revered as the mother of the seven great patriarchs figuring in the sky as the constellation of the Great Bear. By the wife of his son Śakti he became grandfather to the posthumous *Parāśara*.

Vasiṣṭha is also mentioned as one of the superintendents of the month Āṣāḍha, and as a Vyāsa or divider of the Vēda in the eighth Dvāpara. He was the owner of the celebrated cow Surabhi which excited the covetousness of Viśvāmitra, and was according to later traditions the innocent cause of the protracted enmity between both sages, as Vasiṣṭha did not want under any conditions to part with his favorite Kāmadhēnu.

Vasiṣṭha communicated his knowledge to king Janaka. He was the priest of Nimi, son of [illegible] om he cursed for retaining [illegible] r of Sagara, Ikṣvāku's 37th descendant; t[illegible]st of Kalmāṣa-

[17] See *Manu*, I, 35.

[18] See *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, I, 7, 5; and III, 1, 14.

[19] See *Śāntiparvan*, CCVIII, 2—5, and CCCXX[illegible]IV (first Calcutta edition CCCXXXVI), 33—35.

pāda, Mitrasaha or Saudāsa, 50th in descent from Ikṣvāku and the priest of Rāma, his 61st descendant. According to the Raghuvaṁśa he procured progeny to king Dilīpa, by inducing him to pay respect to his favorite cow Surabhi. These few statements prove that Vasiṣṭha like Agastya and Viśvāmitra lived for many ages beyond the usual limit assigned to human life.[20]

Vasiṣṭha is the one sage whom the Brāhmans particularly love to glorify, and whom they therefore endow with all kinds of virtues to make him worthy of their reverence and worship. By doing so, however, they have artificially created a superior being who is placed beyond the range of historical research. On the other hand they go to the other extreme in vilifying as much as possible the character of his great rival and enemy Viśvāmitra. With these remarks I now turn to Viśvāmitra.

On Viśvāmitra.

The seer and priest Viśvāmitra, the author of the third Maṇḍala of the Ṛgvēda which contains the famous Gāyatrī (... 62, 10), first appears prominently in the Ṛgvēda, in his ... capacity as the priest of the Tṛtsu-king Sudas, whose co... for a while conducts satisfactorily, but Vasiṣṭha. The ... wing to the influence of to the king is not clear. ... which both priests stood temporarily employed, but ha... most likely only post permanently, felt much aggri... keep his influence of Vasiṣṭha he was disappoin... h the, and henceforth he directed his hatred agains... ing and his priest. Vasiṣṭha was, as has been sug... ted, by birth a Tṛtsu, and Viśvāmitra a Bharata, the ... former repre-senting the ruling, the latter a section ... an alien tribe

[20] See Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, ... Vol. I, p. 337.

which sought its fortunes by entering into the service of a mighty and noble prince. With respect to Viśvāmitra's nationality, there are two possibilities. He was either an Aryan of liberal mind, who had embraced the cause of the aliens, in this case of the Bharatas, with whom he became in course of time thoroughly identified, or he was of non-Aryan extraction, *i.e.*, a Bharata. If so, considering the high position he occupied from the first, it is very probable that his immediate forefathers had already become naturalized among the Aryans, and participated in the enjoyment of Aryan privileges, which Viśvāmitra inherited from them, and of which he made the utmost use owing to his great mental qualifications and fearless disposition.[21] That Viśvāmitra, a high-minded and ambitious man, should try his utmost to elevate himself and the Bharatas by seeking for them an alliance with the most powerful nation of the neighbourhood, need not create any surprise. The moment appears to have been well chosen, for the times were troublous, and the league was acceptable to Sudās, as the martial Bharatas considerably strengthened his arm[illegible] the other hand the Bharatas, up to now a rather in[illegible] and even despised race, gained a political [illegible] in [illegible] opposit[illegible] [illegible]eland, Vol.

[21] See *Notes on the early hi*[illegible] represented by V[illegible]on between two the *Journal of the Royal Asiati*[illegible] Brahmin[illegible] [illegible]asiṣṭha, who wished to XX, pp. 345, 346: "The whole [illegible]ical rule, to enforce the caste parties, one strictly Brahminic[illegible] Aryans, to restrict the right of offer-bring the people com[illegible]g, with the advantages thence resulting, distinctions b[illegible] Aryan birth, and received as Brahmins into the ing sac[illegible]er was the party of compromise, who wished to to t[illegible]vileges to the ruling classes of the native races, and to take [illegible] into the Aryan pantheon. The party of compromise, who were, their god[illegible]a describes the Bharatas in the Rigveda, the far-seeing people, as Viçvā[illegible] The advantages of securing the alliance of the ruling won t[illegible]e day. [illegible] races were too great to be neglected by those who class[illegible]es of the nativ[illegible] in its widest aspects, and they were formally re-loo[illegible]ed at the question [illegible]stes."
[illegible]ived into the highest ca[illegible]

placed them socially within the pale of the superior class, a position which, when once obtained, could not easily be wrested from them again, because the rank secured in those days was afterwards permanently acknowledged by the establishment of the distinctions of caste. The personal ambition of Viśvāmitra was at first centred in acquiring and permanently maintaining the post of domestic chaplain to king Sudās and his family. Perhaps this apparently selfish object was really prompted by not altogether selfish designs, for his personal promotion was of the greatest import to the Bharatas. When these entered into a compact with the Tṛtsus, Vasiṣṭha, if then present at the court of Sudās, may have even promoted the treaty as strengthening the position of the Tṛtsus. At all events he neither suspected any danger arising from this alliance nor did he penetrate into the ultimate object and secret aims of Viśvāmitra, so that the latter was for a while able to insinuate himself into the good graces of the king and gain popularity with the people. But when Vasiṣṭha fathomed the designs of Viśvāmitra to supplant him, he presumably lost no time in counteracting and frustrating them. Viśvāmitra was in consequence either forced to resign his post or was deposed from his office, which event put an end to the alliance of the Tṛtsus and Bharatas. The latter under the lead of Viśvāmitra, separated themselves from the Tṛtsus, and when open war was declared, sustained at first a defeat.

Viśvāmitra was still in the service of Sudās when he sang:

9. The mighty sage, god-born and god-incited, who looks on men, restrained on the billowy river.
When Viśvāmitra was Sudās's escort, then Indra through the Kuśikas grew friendly.

10. Like swans, prepare a song of praise with pressing-stones, glad in your hymns with juice poured forth in sacrifice.
Ye singers, with the gods, sages who look on men, ye Kuśikas, drink up the Soma's savoury meath.

11. Come forward, Kuśikas, and be attentive; let loose Sudās's horse to win him riches.
East, west, and north, let the king play the foeman, then at earth's choicest place perform his worship.
12. Praise to Indra have I sung, sustainer of this earth and heaven.
This prayer of Viśvāmitra keeps secure the race of Bharatas.[22]

On leaving Sudās, Viśvāmitra, who appears to have retreated unmolested, recrossed with his wealth and his Bharatas the rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī, after imploring them to stop flowing until he and his friends had passed, and to resume their course afterwards:

11. Soon as the Bharatas have fared across thee, the warrior band, urged on and sped by Indra,
Then let your streams flow on in rapid nation. I crave your favour who deserve our worship.
12. The warrior host, the Bharatas, fared over: the singer won the favour of the rivers.
Swell with your billows, hasting, pouring riches. Fill full your channels, and roll swiftly onward.[23]

The end of the 53rd hymn in which Viśvāmitra expresses his hatred against Vasiṣṭha and threatens him with revenge

[22] See Ṛgvēda III, 53, 9—12:
9. Mahān ṛṣir dēvajā dēvajūtō; stabhnāt sindhum arṇavam nṛcakṣāḥ,
Viśvāmitrō yad avahat Sudāsam apriyāyata Kuśikēbhir Indraḥ.
10. Haṁsā va kṛṇutha ślōkam adribhir madantō girbhir adhvarē sutē sacā
dēvēbhir viprā ṛṣayō nṛcakṣasō vipibadhvam Kuśikāḥ sōmyam madhu.
11. Upa prēta Kuśikāś cētayadhvam aśvam rāyē pra muñcata Sudāsaḥ
rājā vṛttram jaṅghanat prāg apāg udag athā yajātē varē ā pṛthivyāḥ
12. Ya imē rōdasī ubhē aham Indram atuṣṭavam
Viśvāmitrasya rakṣati brahmēdam Bhāratam janam.
The translation is taken from Mr. R. T. H. Griffith's Hymns of the Ṛigvēda.

[23] See *Ṛgvēda*, III, 33: Śāyaṇa confirms this statement in his preface to the hymn: "Purā kila Viśvāmitraḥ Paijavanasya Sudāsō rājñaḥ purōhitō babhūva. Sa ca paurōhityēna labdhadhanaḥ sarvaṁ dhanam ādāya Vipāṭ-Śutudryōḥ sambhēdam ayayāvanuyayur itarē, athōttitīrṣur Viśvāmitrō gādhajalē tē nadyau dṛṣṭvōttaraṇārtham ādyābhis tisṛbhis tuṣṭāva." Compare Yāska's Nirukta, II, 24. See Griffith's translation.

was, as Professor Roth has already pointed out, written at a later period than the preceding verses quoted above, and the last or 24th verse shows this clearly in the following words :—

"These sons of Bharata, O Indra, desire dissociation not association,
They urge their steed as against a constant foe, and carry a strong bow in battle."[24]

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[24] See Prof. Roth's *Litteratur and Geschichte des Weda*, p. 111 : "Diese Söhne Bharata's, o Indra, kennen (feindliches) Abwenden, nicht (freundliches) Hinwenden. Sie spornen ihr Ross; wie einen ewigen Feind tragen sie den starken Bogen (spähend) umher in der Schlacht."

Professor Roth discusses this hymn at some length and says on pp. 121—123 : "Diese (Vasiṣṭha's) Familie also angehörig dem Volkstamme der *Tritsu*, war es, welche ihrem Fürsten *Sudās* den wichtigen Dienst leistete durch ihre Anrufung die Huld der Götter im Kampfe von den Feinden ab und auf seine Seite zu wenden. Wie stimmt aber hiemit, was Viçvamitra von sich und den Kuçika rühmt, dass durch ihr Opfer *Indra* für *Sudās* gewonnen worden sey? und wie kann er die *Kuçika* auffordern Sudās' Schlachtross zu weihen, damit es ihn zum beutereichen Siege führe? Wie könnte, was auch durch Nir. II, 24. bestätigt wird *Viçvāmitra* neben *Vasishtha* Priester des *Sudās* gewesen seyn, da wir doch von ihm sehen, er gehöre dem Volksstamme der *Bharata* an, und die Bharata werden von *Sudās* und den Tritsu durch Verdienst der Vasishthiden besiegt? Ich versuche eine Lösung der Widersprüche nicht, indem ich die eine oder andere Angabe für falsch erkläre, sondern beide für geschichtlich halte."

Die richtige Lösung scheint mir in den Versen 4, 21 bis 24 zu liegen, welche die Tradition, wie sie wir sie in der *Anukramanī* in ihrer ältesten Form haben, als Verwünschungen der *Vasishthiden* auffasst. Was in dieser dunkeln Stelle das Deutlichste ist, dass ist der Ausdruck eines durch Hintansetzung gekränkten Stolzes, der Rache droht, im Munde *Viçvāmitra's* selbst oder mindestens eines *Bharatiden*. Der Feind ist in den Besitz einer Würde oder einer Macht gekommen, welche *Viçvāmitra* zuvor inne hatte. Waren es nun *Viçvāmitra* und die *Kuçika*, welche den Sudās zum Siege geführt und einer entsprechenden Stellung und Anschens genossen hatten, und finden wir in den übrigen Hymnen die *Vasishthiden* an derselben Stelle, so kann es kaum etwas Anderes als eben dieser Vortheil seyn, der ihnen von dem Feinde aus der Hand gewunden wurde. Ich nehme also an wie schon oben angedeutet—dass die fünfzehnte Hymne des vierten *Anuvaka* im Mandala *Viçvāmitra's* Bruchstücke von Liedern jenes *Rishi* aus verschiedenen Zeiten enthält, und dass jenes Stück, in welchem *Viçvāmitra* sich und die *Kuçika*, als Priesterschaft des Sudās darstellt, älter ist, als

Viśvāmitra's anger, it is probable, carried him often too far, and he wreaked his revenge in an unjustifiable manner, thus laying himself open to the charges of cruelty and meanness. But though he was no doubt a man of a fierce and unrelenting disposition, still the Mahābhārata and other Epic and Pauranic poems appear to have delighted in exaggerating to an incredible extent the misdeeds which Viśvāmitra was accused of having committed. His main offence certainly was that he, a man of non-Brahmanic extraction, forced his way by mere mental and physical superiority into the sacred circle of the ruling priestcraft, and into the exclusive pale of the domineering race, a presumption which though crowned with success, stamped the perpetrator in the eyes of bigoted Brāhmans with a stigma which could neither be effaced nor condoned.

Viśvāmitra is generally called the descendant of Gādhin or Gāthin, or the son of Kuśika, from which name the frequently used patronymic Kauśika is derived. His birth is connected with the well known legend that the ancient

die Verwünschung, welche das Ende jenes *Sūkta* bildet. *Vṛçvāmitra* und die Seinigen wären durch den wachsenden Einfluss des Vasishtha Geschlechts von *Sudās* weg zu dem Stamme der *Bharata* gedrängt worden, zu den Feinden *Sudās'* und der *Tritsu*, und von dort aus schwören sie ihren Gegnern Rache . . . Wem diese Vermuthung zu weitgreifend scheinen wollte, der müsste, wozu gar kein Grund vorliegt, die Stelle 4, 10, bis 11 für unterschoben erklären und annehmen, dass *Viçvamitra* stets den *Bharata* angehört hätte." See Dr. J. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, p. 372.

The meaning of this verse is so far clear that it distinctly says that henceforth Viśvāmitra and his followers the Bharatas, will have nothing to do with Vasiṣṭha and his partisans, and that they will only meet in battle, to which the Bharatas will urge their steeds and carry their bows. The translation is, however, not easy, and the various versions differ considerably. The text is: "Imā Indram Bharatasya putrā apapitvam cikitur na prapitvam, hinvantyaśvam araṇam na nityam jyāvājam pariṇayantyājau." The commentary of Sāyaṇa is as follows: "Imē Indra Bharatasya putrā Bharatavaṁśyā imē Viśvāmitrā apapitvam apagamanam Vasiṣṭhēbhyaś cikitur jānanti prapitvam na jānanti śiṣṭaiḥ saha tēṣām saṅgatir nāsti, brāhmaṇā ēva ityarthaḥ." Dr. Muir corrects Vol. I, p. 354, (*Va*) *siṣṭhaiḥ* for *śiṣṭaiḥ*.

sage Ṛcīka had prepared for his wife Satyavatī a dish, which would make her the mother of a son endowed with all the worthy qualities of a Brāhman, while her mother, the wife of Gādhin, was to eat another preparation, in order to obtain a brave warrior as her son. Through the fault of her mother, Satyavatī changed the food, and each woman ate the dish prepared for the other. In consequence, Gādhin became the father of Viśvāmitra, while Ṛcīka, at the instance of his wife Satyavatī postponed the birth of a formidable and murderous Kṣatriya for a generation, causing the curse to fall on her grandson, and not on her son. She became eventually the mother of Jamadagni, who in his turn marrying Rēṇukā, the daughter of Prasēnajit, had as his son the fierce matricide Paraśurāma.[25]

Viśvāmitra calls himself the son of Kuśika.[26] Indra is likewise in the Ṛgvēda addressed as the son of Kuśika.[27] According to the legend, Kuśika, while living as a Brahmacārin, desired to have a son like Indra, who thereupon out of fear was born as the son of Gādhin, and Indra in this manner obtained the name of Kauśika.[28] Viśvāmitra is also

[25] See *Harivaṁśa*, XXVII, 16—37.

[26] See *Ṛgvēda*, III, 33, 5, above: "Ahvē Kuśikasya sūnuḥ."

[27] See *Ṛgvēda* I, 10, 11. Sāyana remarks on this verse that though Viśvāmitra was the son of Kuśika, in reality it was Indra: "Hē Kauśika Kuśikasya putra . . yadyapi Viśvāmitraḥ Kuśikasya putraḥ tathāpi tadrūpēṇēndrasyaivōtpannatvāt Kuśikaputratvam aviruddham ayam vṛttāntō' nukramaṇikāyām uktaḥ: Kuśikas tvaiśirathir Indratulyam putram icchan brahmacaryam ca cacāra tasya indra ēva Gāthīputrō jajñē iti."

[28] See *Harivaṁśa*, XXVII, 12—16:

12. Kuśaputrā babhūvur hi catvārō dēvavarcasaḥ
Kuśikaḥ Kuśanābhaśca Kuśāmbō Mūrtimāṁstathā.

13. Pahlavaiḥ saha saṁvṛddhō rājā vanacarais tadā
Kuśikas tu tapas tēpē putram Indrasamaprabham
Labōyam iti tam Śakras trāsād abhyētya jajñivān.

14. Pūrṇē varṣasahasrē vai tam tu Śakrō hyapaśyata
atyugratapasaṁ dṛṣṭvā sahasrākṣaḥ purandaraḥ.

15. Samarthaḥ putrajananē svam ēvāṁśam avāsayat
putratvē kalpayām āsa sa dēvēndraḥ surōttamaḥ.

called Viśvaratha. The *Harivaṁśa* gives a list of the sons of Viśvāmitra, beginning with Dēvarāta, who is identical with Śunaḥśēpha, the son of the Brāhman Ajigartta, or according to others of the Brāhman Ṛcīka, whom Viśvāmitra saved from being sacrificed by buying, adopting and finally placing him at the head of his sons. The fifty elder sons of Viśvāmitra scorned the proposal of their father, while Madhuchchandas, the oldest and representative of the fifty younger sons, consented to acknowledge Śunaḥśēpha or Dēvarāta, a name he had been given by Viśvāmitra, as their senior. In consequence Viśvāmitra cursed those sons, causing them to have as their descendants the barbarous races—Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas, and Mūtibas.[29] The history of Śunaḥśēpha is very peculiar

16. Sa Gādhir abhavad rājā Maghavān Kauśikaḥ svayam
Paurakutsyabhavad bhāryām Gādhis tasyām ajāyata.

Compare with this *ibidem*, XXXIII, 48—62.

[29] See *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 15, ff: "Sō' jīgartam Sauyavasim ṛṣim aśanāyāparītam araṇya upēyāya; tasya ha trayaḥ putrā āsuḥ: Śunaḥpucchaḥ, Śunaḥśēpaḥ, Śunōlāṅgūla iti." This Ajīgarta sells his second son to Rōhita. See Dr. M. Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Vol. I, p. 180. According to the *Harivaṁśa*, XXVII, 42, Śunaḥśēpha is the second son of the sage Ṛcīka. Read ślōkas 41—48 and 53-56:

41. Aurvasyaivam Ṛcīkasya Satyavatyām mahāyaśāḥ
Jamadagnis tapō viryājjajñē brahmavidām varaḥ.
42. Madhyamaśca Śunaḥśēphaḥ Śunaḥpucchaḥ kaniṣṭhakaḥ
Viśvāmitram tu dāyādam Gādhiḥ Kuśikanandanaḥ.
43. Janayām āsa putram tu tapōvidyāśamātmakam
prāpya brahmarṣisamatām yō'yam saptarṣitām gataḥ.
44. Viśvāmitras tu dharmātmā nāmnā Viśvarathaḥ smṛtaḥ
jajñē Bhṛguprasādēna Kauśikād vaṁśavardhanaḥ.
45. Viśvāmitrasya tu sutād Dēvarātādayas smṛtāḥ
prakhyātās triṣu lōkēṣu tēṣām nāmāni mē śṛṇu.
46. Dēvaśravāḥ Katiścaiva yasmāt Kātyāyanāḥ smṛtāḥ
Śālāvatyām Hiraṇyākṣō Rēṇur jajñē'tha Rēṇumān
47. Sāṅkṛtir Gālavaś caiva Mudgalaś cēti viśrutāḥ
Madhuchchandō jayaścaiva Dēvalaśca tathāṣṭakaḥ
48. Kacchapō Haritaś caiva Viśvāmitrasyā tē sutāḥ
tēṣām khyātāni gōtrāṇi Kauśikānām mahātmanām.

and significant, not on account of his adoption by Viśvāmitra, but because, in consequence of this adoption, the succession to the priestly office of Viśvāmitra in its senior branch reverted to the Brāhmans, a caste to which Śunaḥśēpha belonged by birth. Dēvaśravas and Dēvavāta are in the Ṛgvēda called Bhāratas, and Sāyaṇa explains this patronymic as meaning "the two sons of Bharata."[30] Dēvaśravas occurs elsewhere, as we have seen, as the son of

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53. Viśvāmitrātmajānām tu Śunaḥśēphō'grajaḥ smṛtaḥ
Bhārgavaḥ Kauśikatvam hi prāptaḥ sa munisattamaḥ.
54. Viśvāmitrasya putras tu Śunaḥśēphō'bhavat kila
Haridaśvasya yajñē tu paśutvē viniyōjitaḥ
55. Dēvair dattaḥ Śunaḥśēphō Viśvāmitrāya vai punaḥ
Dēvair dattaḥ sa vai yasmād Dēvarātas tatō' bhavat.
56. Dēvarātādayaḥ sapta Viśvāmitrasya vai sutāḥ
Dṛṣadvatīsutaścāpi Viśvāmitrāt tathāṣṭakaḥ.

Compare about Viśvāmitra's birth and progeny *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, 7, 14—17.

About Śunaḥśēpha's adoption and the curse of Viśvāmitra against his fifty eldest sons, see *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 17, 18; (17) Nēti hōvāca, Viśvāmitrō dēvā vā imam mahyam arāsatēti saha Dēvarātō Vaiśvāmitra āsa ... Sa hōvāca Śunaḥśēphaḥ, sa vai yathā nō jñapayā rājaputra tathā vada yathaivāṅgirasaḥ san nupēyām tava putratām iti sa hōvāca Viśvāmitrō jyēṣṭhō mē tvam putrāṇām syās tava śrēṣṭhā prajā syāt, upēyā daivam mē dāyam tēna vai tvōpamantraya iti, sa hōvāca Śunaḥśēphaḥ, sañjñānēṣu vai brūyāt sauhārdyāya mē śriyai yathā'ham Bharataṛṣabhōpēyām tava putratām ityatha ha Viśvāmitraḥ putrān āmantrayām āsa Madhucchandāḥ śṛṇōtana Ṛṣabhō Rēṇur Aṣṭakaḥ yē kē ca bhrātaraḥ stha nāsmai jyaiṣṭhyāya kalpadhvam iti. (18) Tasya ha Viśvāmitrasyaikaśatam putrā āsuḥ, pañcāśad ēva jyāyāṁsō Madhucchandasaḥ, pañcāśat kanīyāṁsaḥ tad yē jyāyāṁsō na tē kuśalam mēnirē. Tān anu vyājahārāntān vaḥ prajā bhakṣīṣṭēti ta ētēndhrāḥ Puṇḍrāḥ Śabarāḥ Pulindā Mūtibā ityudantyā bahavō bhavanti Vaiśvāmitrā dasyūnām bhūyiṣṭhāḥ. Sa hōvāca Madhucchandaḥ pañcāśatā sārdham vāṇ naḥ pitā sañjānītē tasmiṁstiṣṭhāmahē vayam, puras tvā sarvē kurmahē tvām anvañcō vayam smasityatha ha Viśvāmitraḥ pratītaḥ putrāṁstuṣṭāva." In Dr. Haug's edition, Vol. I, pp. 182, 183.

Ṛgvēda, X, 167, is dedicated to Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni and both are mentioned at the end of the last or fourth verse.

[30] See *Ṛgvēda*, III, 23, 2, 3. 2: "Amanthiṣṭām Bhāratā rēvadagnim Dēvaśravā Dēvavātāḥ sudakṣam." Sāyaṇa explains *Bhāratā* by *Bhāratau Bharatasya putrau*.

Viśvāmitra, and Dēvavāta may be another designation for Dēvarāta, under which name Śunaḥśēpha was adopted by Viśvāmitra. In this case *Bharata* may, either as a personal or a tribal name, refer to Viśvāmitra.[31] I must also not omit mentioning that according to the legend Viśvāmitra fell in love with the nymph Mēnakā, and that the daughter of both, Śakuntalā, married Duṣyanta, the son of this union being king Bharata. This is another incident of the close connexion between Viśvāmitra and the Bharatas.[32]

Viśvāmitra is like his rival Vasiṣṭha an instance of great longevity. He performs at one time the duties of chaplain to king Sudās, he elevates Triśaṅku to heaven, he officiates as hōtṛ-priest at the sacrifice of Hariścandra, he lives during the reigns of Ambariṣa, Daśaratha and Rāma, *i.e.*, he performs his duties during 34 (from the 28th to the 61st) generations of kings of the line of Ikṣvāku. Dr. John Muir has fully pointed out this peculiarity.[33]

We need not be surprised too that the genealogical tables concerning the descent of Viśvāmitra do not agree, and that the same Purāṇa should contradict itself on this subject, as is the case with the parentage of Jahnu in the Harivaṁśa.[34] These inaccuracies give ample cause for complaint, but as I do not attach great historical importance to the genealogical tables contained in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa or other Epic and Pauranic poems, so far as the most ancient times are concerned, I have only quoted these statements to impress on the reader how unreliable they are, and how necessary it is to accept them with caution.

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[31] See *Harivaṁśa*, XXVII, 55; XXXII, 55, 61; and *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa* as quoted in the preceding note; see also Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, p. 353.

[32] See *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparvan*, LXXII-LXXIV.

[33] See *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, p. 362.

[34] See *ibidem*, p. 353.

The position which Viśvāmitra occupies in ancient Indian history is so important, because he, a non-Brāhman, and probably not of pure Aryan descent as belonging to the tribe of the Bharatas, raised himself by his own exertions to the highest pinnacle of dignity, thus securing for himself one after another the titles of Rājarṣi, Maharṣi and Brahmarṣi.[35] If Viśvāmitra was not really an Aryan noble, the personal and bitter opposition against him is easily explained. The popular feeling of the mass of the Aryans fomented by the priests must have been strongly incited against the intrusion of a foreigner, though after the caste-restrictions had been once established and enforced, the fact of their previous non-existence was ignored for political reasons. The unfriendly treatment which Viśvāmitra received at the hands of later reporters, shows clearly that a hostile feeling still prevailed against him, long after the real circumstances of these events had been forgotten. Vasiṣṭha still remains the favorite, and is praised for his patience and magnanimity, the great Brahmanic virtues, while Viśvāmitra is described as formed of inferior clay and credited with vindictiveness, cruelty and deceitfulness. As, however, he at last succeeded in becoming a Brahmarṣi, Vasiṣṭha, his steady opponent, had to acknowledge this fact, and became reconciled to him.

Professor Lassen when reviewing the combat between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra thinks that a real war, in which barbarous nations took part, did not take place, that Vasiṣṭha gained his victory not by warriors but by his priestly rod, and that the legend acknowledges the superiority of the Brāhmans, as Viśvāmitra could only obtain his Brahmanic dignity in the same manner as Brāhmans do.[36]

[35] The Bālakāṇḍa in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, sargas 51—65, contains the history of Viśvāmitra, and the *Mahābhārata* in various Parvans, as the Ādiparvan, chap. 69 ff, Udyōgaparvan, 105—118, Anuśāsanaparvan, etc.

[36] See Christian Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, pp. 718,

On the Bharatas.

After these short sketches of the lives of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, as we find them contained in the Vedic, Epic and Pauranic writings, I now turn to consider the position of the Bharatas, to whom Viśvāmitra belonged, and of whom he was the chief in lay and ecclesiastical matters. He is, as we have seen, repeatedly called Bharata in the Ṛgvēda, either directly or by implication when this name is given to his sons; and other Vedic works, like the Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa, where he is addressed as best of the Bharatas,[37] acknowledge him as such. The Bharatas appear to have owed their fortune mainly to the energy and statecraft of Viśvāmitra, who raised them from an apparently low and dependent position to independence and power. The weakness of the Bharatas may be inferred from the defeat they suffered, a defeat to which Vasiṣṭha alludes.[38]

The verse in question is explained by Sāyaṇa as alluding to a calamity which had befallen the Bharatas whom he identifies with the Tṛtsus, and from which Vasiṣṭha their priest had extricated them. This identification of the

719, second edition, (725, 726 in first edition); "Ihr Kampf mit seinen Motiven und seiner Maschinerie gehört der Form des ausgebildeten Epos an. Dahin gehört die Wunderkuh, die alles erwünschte erschafft an einem wirklichen Kampfe mit Waffen und einer Betheiligung der fremden Völker, der entarteten Krieger und der Urbewohner bei demselben zu denken, sind wir nicht berechtigt, da diese nur Schöpfungen der Dichtung sind. Auch wird der eigentliche Sieg von Vasiṣṭha nicht durch Waffen gewonnen, sondern durch seinen Stab. Die Sage stellt die vollendete Ueberlegenheit der Brahmanen dar, weil Viśvāmitra genöthigt wird, die Unzulänglichkeit der Macht der Krieger anzuerkennen und seine Brahmanenwürde nur nach der Weise der Brahmanen erreichte."

[37] See *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 17: Bharata ṛṣabha.

[38] See *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 33, 6: "Daṇḍā ivēd gōajanāsa āsan paricchinnā Bharatā arbhakāsaḥ, abhavacca pura ētā Vasiṣṭha ād it Tṛtsūnām viśō aprathanta." Compare p. 578.

Tṛtsus with the Bharatas is evidently wrong.[39] The context is also not in favour of this interpretation, which, so far from being supported, is disproved by evidence. The account in the Ṛgvēda makes it very improbable that Vasiṣṭha was ever the priest of the Bharatas, and if he acted in those days as such, it must have been at a time when the Bharatas first joined the Tṛtsus, and Viśvāmitra did not think it advisable or was not yet strong enough to openly oppose Vasiṣṭha. But after Viśvāmitra had with his followers seceded from the Tṛtsus, his connexion with them was broken for ever, and he, the foremost leader of the Bharatas, identified himself thoroughly with this people. On the other hand Vasiṣṭha's position towards this tribe is totally different. Though some scholars following the interpretation of Sāyaṇa,[40] regard Vasiṣṭha as the leader of the Bharatas,

[39] See *Sāyaṇa* to Ṛgvēda VII, 33, 6: "Gō ajanāsō gavām prērakā daṇḍā iva yathā daṇḍhāḥ paricchinnapatrōpaśakhā bhavanti tadvad Bharatāḥ Tṛtsūnām ēva rājñām Bharatā iti nāmāntarēṇōpādānam śatrubhiḥ paricchinnā ēvāsan it ēvakārārthaḥ arbhakāsōrbhakā alpāścāsan ādit paricchinnatvād anantaram ēva tēṣām Tṛtsūnām Vasiṣṭhaḥ pura ētā purōhitō'bhavacca tatpaurōhityasāmarthyāt Tṛtsūnām viśaḥ prajāḥ aprathanta avardhayanta." Compare on the other hand Sāyaṇa to Ṛgvēda, III, 53, 24.

Professor Roth has repeatedly pointed out the inaccuracy of Sāyana and in his essay *Zur Litteratur and Geschichte des Weda* says on pp. 93, 94: "Bei der Uebersetzung des Folgenden habe ich zu oft von *Sājana* abgehen müssen, als dass der Zweck dieser Blätter es gestattete, überall die abweichenden Erklärungen desselben anzuführen; ich erwähne derselben darum nur an den Stellen, wo der von mir angenommene Sinn zweifelhaft und des Commentators Auffassung der Rest einer ältern richtigen seyn kann."

[40] Professor Rudolph Roth gives in his work *Zur Litteratur and Geschichte des Weda*, p. 90, the following version: "Wie Stäbe des Ochsentreibers wurden die winzigen Bharata zerborchen; Vorkämpfer wurde Vasishṭha, ausbreiteten sich alsbald die Stämme der Tṛitsu."

Professor *Alfred Ludwig*, Vol. II, p. 656, translates this verse as follows: "Wie Stäbe, Treibstöcke der Rinder abgeschält (von Rinden und Ästen) waren die hilflosen Bharata, Vorkämpfer war ihnen aber Vasiṣṭha, darum breiteten sich weit ausz die Stämme der Tṛtsu." He identifies in Vol. III, p. 172, the Tṛtsus with the Bharatas. Mr. *R. T. H. Griffith*, Vol. III, p. 44,

most critics disagree with Sāyaṇa, and ascribe the defeat of the Bharatas to the action of Vasiṣṭha. Considering the question in all its bearings, I think that the Vedic verse should, without straining its meaning, be understood in the latter sense. For the course of subsequent events it is immaterial what position is ascribed in this verse to Vasiṣṭha,—whether as a friend at the commencement of their relations, or subsequently as an enemy of the Bharatas,—so long as the Bharatas are not identified with the Tṛtsus. The Bharatas who with Viśvāmitra allied themselves at first with the Tṛtsus, were perhaps a numerous troop of adventurous mercenaries who, like the Goths in the Roman Empire, sought service at the foreign court of king Sudās, attracted by his reputation for liberality. Received very kindly on terms of equality, they ingratiated themselves by their valourous acts still more with the king and with his high priest Vasiṣṭha, until the latter discovered the ambitious designs of Viśvāmitra to supplant him. And it was just in time; for Viśvāmitra had already been appointed domestic chaplain to Sudās. Vasiṣṭha got rid of his rival, compelling him to retire with his followers from the court, but allowing him to retain the wealth he had acquired. Thus came to an end

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agrees with this view in his rendering: "Like sticks and staves wherewith they drive the cattle, stripped bare, the Bharatas were found defenceless: Vasishṭha then became their chief and leader and widely were the Tṛtsus' clans extended." To this he adds in note 6: "*Bharatas*: apparently the same as the Tṛtsus."

See Dr. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, 320: "Like staves for driving cattle, the contemptible Bharatas were lopped all around. Vāsishṭha marched in front, and then the tribes of the Tṛtsus were deployed." Compare also Professor Heinrich Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*, p. 126: "Wie Ochsentreiberstöcke wurden die winzigen Bharata zerbrochen; Führer (gegen sie) ward Vasishṭha, und es breiteten sich aus die Gaue der Tṛtsu;" and on p. 128: "Der endliche Ausgang ist freilich ein anderer. Während die Tṛtsu verschwunden sind in späterer Zeit, strahlen in hellem Lichte die Bhārata."

the alliance between the Tṛtsus and Bharatas, and henceforth began the continual rivalry and intrigues between the two priests to acquire supremacy.

The Bharatas seem to have been so well known as soldiers of fortune that their name became synonymous with mercenaries, like the Swiss who obtained in modern times a similar reputation. This appears to be the meaning of a sentence in the Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa in which Sāyaṇa explains the meaning of *Bharata* as denoting *warrior*, and even in the Ṛgvēda there occurs a passage where a similar meaning is implied in the term Bharata.[41]

From want of reliable historical information, we are completely in the dark as to how the great change which befell the Bharatas came about. All we know is that they appear all on a sudden as the representatives of the great Aryan race which gave its name to India. In my opinion the Aryan invaders were comparatively few in number and felt the necessity of admitting to their ranks the most powerful and respected classes of foreigners. To these latter belonged in the first place the strong and numerous Bharatas, whose ambition it was to force for themselves admission into the Aryan pale with the enjoyment of equal rights.

[41] See *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, 2, 25 (in Dr. Haug's edition, Vol. I, p. 44, and Vol. II, pp. 128, 129): "Tasmād dhāpyētarhi Bharatāḥ satvanām vittim prayanti," which in Vol. II, p. 212 of Böthlingk's and Roth's dictionary is translated "deshalb treten noch heute Kriegsknechte in den Sold (freier, edler) Krieger, Ait. Br., 2, 25. Sāj. wenigstens dem Sinne nach richtig: Bharatā yōddhāraḥ satvanām sārathīnām vētanam sampādayanti." Dr. Haug (Vol. II, p. 128) makes as to *Bharatas* the following remark: Sāyaṇa does not take this word here as a proper name, in which sense we generally find it in the ancient Sanskrit Literature, but as an appellative noun, meaning 'warriors.' He derives the word from *bhara* cattle, and *tan* to extend, stretch, to which etymology no modern philologist will give his assent. *Satvan* is here explained by Sāyaṇa as 'charioteer.'

Compare *Ṛgvēda*, II, 36, 2: where *Bharatasya sūnavaḥ* are explained by Sāyaṇa to mean "sarvasya jagatō bhartū Rudrasya putrāḥ," (the Maruts) the sons of Rudra the warrior. Compare Griffith, Vol. I, p. 393.

For support they could always rely on their warlike and independent kindred who had not joined them, but with whom they kept up friendly relations for some time at least. That the Bharatas outside the Aryan pale were respected and numerous, we know from Sanskrit sources.[42]

Though the Aryanised Bharatas became thus the governing tribe among the Aryans in India, it must not be forgotten that they, in their turn, adapted themselves in many respects to Aryan manners and customs, adopting what seemed advisable and politic, and retaining what they were not specially required to yield; perhaps, often only yielding temporarily for the sake of appearance.

This connexion between the Aryanised and non-Aryan Bharatas is a matter of considerable importance, and legend has not forgotten it. For while Viśvāmitra is by his adherents and fifty younger sons the representative of the Aryanised Bharatas, he is by the descendants of his fifty elder sons whom he cursed, the reputed ancestor of the barbarous and non-Aryan Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas, a fact to which I have already alluded.[43] I do not intend to connect Viśvāmitra personally with these lower tribes, though there is no doubt that the Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa does so. It is, however, very significant that the existence of a relationship between the high and low caste Bharatas is already admitted in early times.

When speaking of the Bārs or Bhārs I pointed out their identity with the Bharatas, an idea which had previously presented itself to Sir Henry M. Elliot.[44] Their name can be connected with the Sanskrit *Barbara* or *Varvara*, the wellknown Aryan word for barbarian, which latter

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[42] *e.g.* from the *Harivaṁśa*, XXXII, I, 53, as quoted *above* on p. 39.

[43] See *above*, p. 592, and Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa, VII, 18.

[44] See *above*, pp. 37—47.

term may have originated from their harshly-pronounced tribal name Bār. It has in my opinion nothing to do with *bat* or *bar*, the Banian tree, which etymology has been proposed by Sir Alexander Cunningham, and has lately been recommended again by Mr. J. F. Hewitt.[45] The latter scholar is also inclined to admit a non-Aryan origin of the Bharatas, but he prefers a Kolarian source, while the Bharatas belong according to my opinion to the Gauda-Dravidians of whom they appear to me to form the very nucleus.

I hope I have made it clear that, the Bharatas being the most powerful and numerous nation in India, this country should be named after them *Bharatavarṣa*, though the form *Bhāratavarṣa* is in more common use.[46]

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[45] See *above* p. 42, and Notes on the early history of Northern India, Part II, by J. F. Hewitt, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXI, p. 280. I may here remark that the first part of this book containing the observations about the Bārs was published previously to Mr. Hewitt's Notes.

[46] See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, pp. 704, 705 (first edn., p. 714): "Während das zuletzt genannte Geschlecht seinen Namen durch nach ihm benannte Städte der Nachwelt aufbewahrt hat, ist der Name der ihm in der ältesten Zeit eng verbundenen *Bharata* an keine Oertlichkeit gebunden; ihr Andenken hat sich dagegen erhalten in dem Namen *Bharata* für das ganze Indien, die grosse Schlacht und das grosse sie erzählende Epos. (Da der Name der *Bharata* in den Vedischen Liedern vorkömmt und daher älter ist, als die Benennung *Bhārata*, kann der Name des Königs nicht wohl, wie hier angegeben, aus dem Namen des Landes gebildet worden sein, sondern ist derselbe, wie der Volksname, so wie *Pūru*, *Yadu* und *Turvaça* zugleich als Namen der Stämme und der Könige sich finden.) Wir müssen diesem Volk deshalb eine grosse Bedeutung für die älteste Geschichte zuerkennen. Sie spricht sich auch darin aus, dass der König dieses Namens als der erste Eroberer der ganzen Erde in der Sage gilt and daher die Beinamen *Sārvabhauma* und *Sarvadamana*, erhalten hat. Wenn diese Uebertreibung der Dichtung die Rechnung geschrieben werden muss, so wird doch insofern diese Ueberlieferung gerechtfertigt, als in einer der ältesten vorepischen Schriften von *Bharata* erwähnt wird dass er vom Himālaja an längs der *Yamunā* und der *Gangā* grosse Pferdeopfer verrichtet und dadurch die weite Macht der *Bharata* gegründet habe."

The nominal ancestor Bharata is, so far as I know, not mentioned as a king in the Ṛgvēda, yet the term may perhaps be occasionally taken as applying to the ancestor of the Bharatas, though in by far the greater number of cases it applies to the tribe.[47] While speaking of the word Bharata, I must not omit to mention that *Agni*, the god of fire, is called *Bharata* in the Ṛgvēda, and that Sāyaṇa explains its meaning in this context as the bearer of the oblation.[48]

To some other meanings of this word I have already alluded, but the best information on this subject is to be found in the great Sanskrit dictionaries of Professors Böthlingk and Roth.[49]

When the Bharatas had once established their supremacy, they ruled for a long period extending their sway far to the east; and the expression of Pāṇini when he mentions the eastern Bharatas supports this supposition.[50] Their non-Aryan origin had by this time been entirely forgotten, and they ranked and were esteemed everywhere as the genuine representatives of the noblest of Aryan races. The Bharatas appear to have been divided at an early period into two branches. These, however, did not immediately separate, but kept united for a long time under the leadership of one chief, until the reigning family became extinct in its direct line. These two main branches were represented

[47] In *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 16, 4, Sāyaṇa explains the word *Bharata* as *Dauṣyantiḥ*, the son of Duṣyanta; but there is no special reason for this interpretation. With respect to Sāyaṇa's commentary, however reliable it may be on the whole, we must never forget that it was compiled not quite six hundred years ago.

[48] See *Ṛgvēda*, II, 7; I, 5; IV, 25, 4. Sāyaṇa explains in this last verse *Bharata* as meaning "bearer of the oblation," *haviṣō bhartā*. He evidently connects *Bharata* with the root *bhṛ*, to bear. Read also Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, pp. 348, 349, note 145.

[49] See in the *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, Vol. V, pp. 211—213, and Böthlingk Sanskrit Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung, Vol. IV, p. 252.

[50] See *Pāṇini*, II, 4, 66: "Bahvaca iñaḥ Prācyabharatēṣu."

eventually by the Kuru-Pañcālas, the latter being afterwards replaced by the Pāṇḍavas. These two tribes of the Bharatas correspond to the original divisions of the Indian aborigines into Gaudians and Dravidians.

The Ṛgvēda does not mention together the double race as the Kuru-Pañcālas, nor does it separately name the Kurus, Pañcālas or Pāṇḍavas. It is therefore probable that at that time the Bharatas continued to live united as one great nation.[51]

In two songs of the Ṛgvēda a tribe of the *Krivis* is spoken of as dwelling in the neighbourhood of the upper Sindhu and Asiknī.[52] In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa the Krivis are identified with the Pañcālas, who are said to have been called in ancient times Krivi. The term *Kuru-Krivi* would in these circumstances be synonymous with *Kuru-Pañcāla*, a term of frequent occurrence.[53] If this is the case, and there is no reason to doubt it, the term Krivi is in my opinion formed by a sort of assonance from the original word Kuru, a mode of formation which is by no means unusual in the Gauda-Dravidian languages, and which also occasionally occurs in Sanskrit. By modifying in a slight manner the first and principal word, the second term, without having any special meaning of its own, is made to indicate in a vague way all similar things. For instance if the first word of such a compound denotes a man, tribe, animal or any other

[51] It is just possible that an allusion is made to the two divisions of the Bharatas in the famous hymn in which Vasiṣṭha extols the victory of Sudās, and announces that the king had scattered twenty-one families of the two Vaikarṇa tribes, if this expression can be explained as referring to the Kuru-Pañcālas or Kuru-Krivis. See *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 18, 11: "Ēkam ca yō viṁśatiṁ ca śravasyā Vaikarṇayōr janān rājā nyastaḥ." See Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*, p. 103.

[52] See *Ṛgvēda*, VIII, 20, 24, and VIII, 22, 12.—Sāyaṇa explains *Krivi* in the first place as meaning a well.

[53] See *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 5, 4, 7: "Krivaya iti ha vai purā Pañcālānācakṣatē."

thing, the second signifies any person or thing resembling the first. The compound Kuru-Krivi is, I take it, an example of this kind. This fondness for assonance is a striking peculiarity of the Hindus. A few examples in common use will suffice to illustrate this habit. The Telugu and Tamil people say thus *gurramu girramu* or *kuderi kideri* when they want to speak of horses and similar animals, *śāstram gīstram* denotes all kinds of sciences, *sūmān gīmān* all kinds of things, *pustakam gistakam* all kinds of books, and *katti gitti* all kinds of knives.[54] I have previously derived *Kuru* from a Gauda-Dravidian root,[55] and *Krivi* is in this case formed according to grammar, for the first vowel of the original word becomes in this reduplication invariably *i*, and in a dissyllabic like *Krivi*, the *i* of the first syllable *kri* necessitates an *i* in the second. In these circumstances I cannot accept the derivation proposed by Professor Lassen, who sees in the word *kuru* a malformation of *karu*.[56] I need not add that the expletive *krivi* in this connexion is not a real name, though it may have afterwards become a nickname for the Pañcālas. The word *Krivi* in the Ṛgvēda has also

[54] One even often hears such amusing repetitions as *gentlemen gintlemen*, *tumbleru gimbleru*, etc. It appears that the favorite letter used in this peculiar reduplication is *g*, though *k* is also used: at all events the word begins with a guttural. In Sanskrit we meet occasionally among relatives, such assonantic names, *e.g*, Vōpayata and Vaidayata, Cōdayata and Caikayata, Śaikayata and Kṣaikayata, Jaiyata and Kaiyata, etc.

[55] See *above*, pp. 109—113.

[56] See Christian Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, p. 733: "Die Pāndava sind die Nachfolger der Kuru, diese und die Pancāla werden uns in vorepischen Schriften als die zwei Hauptvölker Madhyadeśa's genannt. Die Kuru werden im Rigveda gar nicht genannt, und die Panchāla nicht mit ihrem älteren Namen, sondern mit *Krivi*. . Der Name *Kuru* is aus *Karu*, d. h. thätig, entstellt." Read also Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*, p. 103: "Den Namen der Kuru deutet Lassen durch Annahme einer Zwischenform *karu;* fasst man sie nun als die 'Hauer, Metzler' oder auch die 'Thätigen,' sicher aus derselben Warzel und mit einem nahe verwandten. Suffixe gebildet ist der Name der Krivi aus *karvi* durch *krvi* (cf. jāgṛvi)."

The king of the Krivis is called *Kraivya*.

other meanings. On the other hand the word *Kuru* is by itself not found as a tribal name in the Ṛgvēda, yet it forms no doubt part of such expressions as Kuruṅga and Kuruśravas which occur in it. The compound *Kuru-Krivi* suggests to my mind the supposition, that the Kurus must have been predominant at the time when it came into use. Yet I believe that the Pañcālas represented originally the older and stronger section of the Bharatas. The Bharatas became subdivided into two great halves; the Kurus being the leaders of the one, the Pañcālas or later on the Pāṇḍavas those of the other set. The same division is, as intimated above, represented among the non-Aryan Bharatas by the Gaudians and Dravidians. While the Brāhmans among the Kuru-Pañcālas classed themselves according to the people among whom they lived, so also did their descendants divide themselves at a subsequent period into Gauḍa-Brāhmans and Drāviḍa-Brāhmans.[57]

The Mahābhārata and the other Epic and Pauranic works, though not following a scientific system in the genealogical arrangement of the various tribes, still acknowledge the descent of the Pañcālas and Kurus from Bharata, and by doing so admit, in an indirect way, what I have taken great pains to prove. Bharata, who in the Mahābhārata is represented as the son of king Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā, the latter well-known as the daughter of Viśvāmitra, appears throughout as the first and greatest king of the Bharatas, in short as the founder of the race. According to the Aitarēyabrāhmaṇa he was consecrated by the sage Dīrghatamas, the son of Mamatā, and having conquered the whole world, performed numerous horse-sacrifices, and gave away millions of superbly decked elephants. In short the deeds he performed were as far beyond those of his forefathers, or of any succeeding person belonging to the five

[57] See *above*, pp. 21, 22, 116, 117 and 118.

classes of men, as the sky is beyond the reach of mortal hands.[58] Bhumanyu succeeded his father Bharata in the kingdom. After Bhumanyu came his eldest son, the great monarch Suhōtra, who conquered the whole world up to the sea, and who, according to one tradition was the father of Ajamīḍha, while according to another he was his great-grandfather. Ajamīḍha had six sons by his three wives Dhuminī, Nīlī and Kēśinī. Ṛkṣa was the eldest and succeeded his father as king, while from Duṣmanta and Paramēṣṭhin, the two sons of Nīlī, are said to have descended all the Pañcālas.[59] In the time of *Saṁvaraṇa*, the son of Ṛkṣa, a fearful famine broke

[58] See *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 23; also H.T. Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, pp. 37, 39 in his article "On the Vedas, or sacred writings of the Hindus." See *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparvan*, XCIV, 17—19; and XCV:

17. Rathantaryām sutāu pañca pañcabhūtōpamāṁstataḥ
Īlinō janayām āsa Duṣmantaprabhṛtīn nṛpān;
18. Duṣmantam Śūrabhīmau ca Pravasum Vasum ēva ca
tēṣām jyēṣṭhō' bhavad rājā Duṣmantō Janamējaya.
19. Duṣmantād Bharatō jajñē vidvān Śākuntalō nṛpaḥ
tasmād Bharatavaṁśasya vipratasthē mahad yaśaḥ.

Ibidem, XCV, 28, 29, 31. 28: Duṣmantaḥ khalu Viśvāmitraduhitaram Śakuntalām nāmōpayēmē, yasyām asya jajñē Bharataḥ. 29: Atrānuvaṁśaślōkau bhavataḥ:

Bhastrā mātā pituḥ putrō yēna jātaḥ sa ēva saḥ
bharasva putram Duṣmanta māvamaṁsthāḥ Śakuntalām. . .

31. Tatō'sya bharatatvam

This ślōka contains another explanation of the word Bharata. Śakuntalā is called an apsaras in Śathapatha-Brāhmaṇa, XIII, 5, 4, 13. See p. 602.

[59] According to the *Ādiparvan*, XCIV. 30—33, Suhōtra is the father of Ajamīḍha.

30. Aikṣvākī janayām āsa Suhōtrāt pṛthivīpatē
Ajamīḍham Sunudhañca Purumīḍhañca Bhārata.
31. Ajamīḍhō varas tēṣām tasmin vaṁśaḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ
ṣaṭ putrān sō' pyajanayat tisṛṣu striṣu Bhārata.
32. Ṛkṣam Dhuminyathō Nīlī Duṣmanta-Paramēṣṭhinau
Kēśinyajanayaj Jahnum sutau ca Jala-Rūpiṇau.
33. Tathēmē sarvapañcālā Duṣmanta-Paramēṣṭhinōḥ
anvayāḥ Kuśikā rājan Jahnōr amitatējasaḥ.

In XCV, 33—35, it is stated, that Suhōtra's son Hastin was the father of Vikuṇṭhana, who in his turn became the father of Ajamīḍha.

out and many people died from pestilence, drought and other calamities. To crown all, enemies invaded the country, and the Bharatas were beaten. At last the king of the Pañcālas set out with his enormous armies to subdue the whole world, and directing his attack against Saṁvaraṇa, he utterly defeated and compelled him to leave his country, together with his wife, children, relations and ministers, obliging them to seek shelter on the banks of the Sindhu where they remained for a thousand years.[59]

Most probably it is this invasion of the Pañcāla king Durmukha to which the Aitarēyabrāhmaṇa refers, when it reports that the Pañcāla Durmukha was consecrated by the sage Bṛhaduktha, and through the knowledge which he thus acquired became king, a position not previously occupied by him, and went conquering the whole earth.[60] Lassen who comments on these passages, points out the remarkable fact that Durmukha is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa immediately after Bharata.[61]

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[59] See *Ādiparvan*, XCIV:

34. Jala-Rūpiṇayōr jyēṣṭham Ṛkṣam āhur janādhipam
Ṛkṣāt Saṁvaraṇō jajñē rājavaṁśakaraḥ sutaḥ.
35. Ārkṣē Saṁvaraṇē rājau praśāsati vasundharām
saṁkṣayaḥ sumahān āsīt prajānām iti naḥ śrutam.
36. Vyaśīryata tatō rāṣṭram kṣayair nānāvidhais tadā
kṣunmṛtyubhyāmanāvṛṣṭyā vyādhibhiśca samāhatam.
37. Abhyaghnan Bhāratāṁścaiva sapatnānām balāni ca
cālayan vasudhāñcēmām balēna caturaṅginā.
38. Abhyayāt tañca Pāñcālō vijitya tarasā mahīm
akṣauhiṇībhir daśabhis sa ēnam samarē'jayat.
39. Tatas sadāras sāmātyas saputras sasuhṛjjanaḥ
rājā Saṁvaraṇas tasmāt palāyata mahābhayāt.
40. Sindhōr nadasya mahatō nikuñjē nyavasat tadā
nadīviṣayaparyantē parvatasya samīpataḥ.
41. Tatrāvasan bahūn kālān Bhāratā durgam āśritāḥ
tēṣām nivasatām tatra sahasram parivatsarān.

[60] See *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 23: "Aindram mahābhiṣēṣam Bṛhaduktha ṛṣir Durmukhāya Pāñcālāya prōvāca, tasmād Durmukhaḥ Pāñcālō rājā saṁvidyayā sammatam sarvataḥ pṛthivīm jayan parīyāya."

[61] See *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, p. 735.

Saṁvaraṇa was then visited, so relates the Mahābhārata, by the great sage Vasiṣṭha, and after appointing him his family priest, regained his country, became the supreme lord of the earth, and taking as his wife Tapatī, the daughter of the sun, became through her, the father of *Kuru*. As Kuru was very righteous, he was made king by the people, and conferred fame on the country called after him Kurujāṅgala, and sanctified Kurukṣētra by his penance.

The whole story as told in the Mahābhārata is very improbable, especially the introduction of Vasiṣṭha and the retreat of Saṁvaraṇa to the Indus. This Saṁvaraṇa, most likely the last of the Bharatas in the direct line of succession, was expelled by the Pañcālas, and the Bharata kingdom thus came to an end.[62] Then followed a long time of anarchy during which the Pañcālas retained their power.

The Ganges separated the Pañcālas into Northern and Southern Pañcālas. In the commentary to Pāṇini the Eastern and Western Pañcālas are mentioned.[63] The Pañcālas were nearly connected with the Pāṇḍavas, who in fact became later on their representatives and were even called Pañcālas, an appellation to which the fact of their being five in number have contributed. They became also by Draupadī's choice, the sons-in-law of Drupada, king of the Pañcālas.

The term *Pañcāla* is differently explained, but contains most probably the number five (*pañca*). The descent of the Pañcālas given in the Harivaṁśa and Purāṇas differs from that quoted above from the Mahābhārata. The five Pañcālas are in the former the sons of Haryaśva, sixth in descent from Ajamīḍha. Their father is said to have

[62] See *Ādiparvan*, XCV, 42–49. About Saṁvaraṇa compare also *ibidem*, XCV, 37, and chapters XCIV, CLXXIII—CLXXV.

[63] See *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, IV, 25, 50, 51; and Pāṇini, II, 103.

originated their name by declaring that his five sons were sufficient for the protection of the country (*pañca + alam*).[64] The name may have also been so called from the country consisting of five districts, similarly as the Panjab obtained name from five rivers (*Pañcanada*).[65]

The word Pañcāla appears grammatically to be formed by the addition of the primitive affix *āla* to the cardinal number *pañca*.[66] It is possible too that the name may have been formed by means of the Gauda-Dravidian *āḻan*, like Vellāla, Ballāla, Bhillāla, Baṅgāla, etc.[67]

The Pañcālas were not unknown to the Greek and Roman geographers and historians, for we find them mentioned by Ptolemy, Arrian, Pliny and others.[68]

With respect to my derivation of the name of the town of Benares or Vārāṇasī, I think it not amiss to mention that it is reported to have been founded by the Pañcāla

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[64] See *Harivaṁśa*, XXXII, 63—66:

63. Ajamīḍhō parō vaṁśaḥ śrūyatām puruṣōttama
Ajamīḍhasya Nīlinyām Suśāntir udapadyata.
64. Purujātiḥ Suśāntēs tu Bahyāśvaḥ purujātitaḥ
Bāhyāśvatanayāḥ pañca babhūvur amarōpamāḥ.
65. Mudgalas Śṛñjayaścaiva rājā Bṛhadiṣus smṛtaḥ
Yavīnaraśca vikrāntaḥ Krimilaśvaśca pañcamaḥ.
66. Pañcaitē rakṣaṇāyālam dēśānām iti viśrutāḥ
pañcānām viddhi pañcālān sphitair janapadair vṛtān.

According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa, IV, 19, Ajamīḍha had by his wife Nīlinī a son Nīla, whose son was Śānti, whose son was Suśānti, whose son was Purujānu, whose son was Cakṣus, whose son was Haryaśva (the Bahyāśva of the Harivaṁśa and Agnipurāṇa) and whose five sons were Mudgala Sṛñjaya, Bṛhadiṣu, Pravīra and Kāmpilya. There are great variants in these names in the various Purāṇas. Compare H. H. Wilson's *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, edited by Fitzedward Hall, Vol. V, pp. 144, 145.

[65] See *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, IV, 29, 7: Pañcālāḥ pañca viṣayā yanmadhyē Navakhaṇḍam.

[66] See Professor Benfey's *Handbuch der Sanskritsprache*, p. 151.

[67] See *above*, pp. 104, 105.

[68] See Ptolemy's *Geographia*, VII, 1, 51, where the town Πασσάλα is mentioned; Arriani *Historia Indica*, II, 6, 7; C. Plinii Secundi *Historia Naturalis*, VI, 22.

king Divōdāsa, the son of Sudēva, who through his grandfather Haryaśva, king of the Kāśi and Ajamīḍha, was a direct descendant of Bharata, and by nationality a Bharata.[69]

The Pañcālas were ultimately ousted by the Kurus. To connect Saṁvaraṇa with the Kurus superhuman influence was required, and this is intimated by making Tapatī, a daughter of the god Vivasvat and the younger sister of Sāvitrī.[70] Kuru became the reputed ancestor of the Kurus. The Mahābhārata contains two genealogies of the Candra or Lunar dynasty, the first ends with Dēvāpi, Śāntanu and Bāhlīka, the sons of Pratīpa, and the other with Aśvamēdhadatta, the son of Śatānīka.[71] For the first table

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[69] See *above*, p. 41, also *Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparvan*, XIII, 9—15:

9. Kāśiṣvapi nṛpō rājan Divōdāsapitāmahaḥ
Haryaśva iti vikhyātō babhūva jayatāmvaraḥ.
10. Sa vītahavyadāyādair āgatya puruṣarṣabha
Gaṅgāyamunayōr madhyē saṅgrāmē vin[illegible]
11. Tantu hatvā narapatim Haihayās tē mahārathāḥ
pratijagmuḥ purīm ramyām vatsvā nāmākutōbhayāḥ.
12. Haryaśvasya ca dāyādāḥ Kāśirāj ō [illegible]hyaṣicyata
Sudēvō dēvasaṅkāśaḥ sākṣā[illegible] dhar[illegible]a ivāparaḥ.
13. Sa pālayām āsa mahīm dharmātm[illegible] kāśinandanaḥ
[illegible]tā ir vītahavyairāgatya yudhi sar[illegible]air vinirjitaḥ.
14. Tan[illegible]athājan vinirjitya pratijag[illegible]nur yathāgatam
Saudēvās [illegible]vath[illegible] Kāśiśō Div[illegible]āsō' bhyaṣicyata.
15. Divōdāsas t[illegible] viñāya vi[illegible]am tēṣām mahātmanām
Vārāṇas[illegible]m mahātējā nirmamē śakraśāsanāt.

In the Harivan[illegible]śa, Viṣṇupurāṇa and elsewhere Divōdāsa is the son of Badhryaśva, th[illegible] son of Mudgala, the son of Haryaśva (or Bāhyaśva). In Ṛgvē[illegible] 61, 1, is mentioned a Divōdāsa, a son of the sage Vadhryaśva.

[70] [illegible] *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, pp. 734—736; *Ādiparvan*, CLXXII[illegible]I, 7.

[71] See *Ādiparvan*, XCIV and XCV. According to the 94th chapter Kuru had five sons, Avikṣit, Abhiṣyanta, Caitraratha, Muni and Janamējaya. *Avikṣit's* sons were Parikṣit, Śabalāśva, Ādirāja, Virāja, Śālmala, Uccaiśśravas, Bhaṅgakāra and Jitāri. *Parikṣit* had six sons, Kakṣasēna, Ugrasēna, Citrasēna, Indrasēna, Susēna and Bhīmasēna. *Janamējaya's* sons were Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu, Bāhlīka, Niṣadha, Jāmbūnada, Kuṇḍōdara, Padāti and Vasati. Dhṛtarāṣṭra's sons were Hastin, Vitarka, Krātha,

Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu are the sons of Janamējaya, the grandson of Kuru, in the latter Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura are the grandsons of Śāntanu, the brother of Dēvāpi and son of Pratīpa. The genuine line of Kuru seems to have ended with Dēvāpi and his brothers. Of the genea-

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Kuṇḍina, Haviśśravas, Indrābha and Bhumanyu, and of his grandsons are mentioned Pratīpa, Dharmanētra and Sunētra. Pratīpa had three sons. Dēvāpi, Śāntanu and Bāhlīka. Dēvāpi retired into the forest and Śāntanu, the youngest of the three brothers, suceeded to the throne.

According to the 95th chapter Kuru married and had a son Vidūratha, who married Mādhavī and had Anaśvan, who by Amṛtā had Parīkṣit, who by Suyaśas had Bhīmasēna, who by Kaikēyī had Pratiśravas, whose son was Pratīpa, who by Śunandā had Dēvāpi, Śāntanu and Bāhlīka. Dēvāpi went as a boy into the forest and Śāntanu became king, who by Gaṅgā had Dēvavrata also called Bhīṣma. Bhīṣma out of kindness married his father Śāntanu to Satyavatī, known else as Gandhakālī. Satyavatī had by a previous connexion with the sage Parāśara a son Dvaipāyana, the celebrated Vyāsa. Śāntanu had by Satyavatī two sons, Vicitravīrya and Citrāṅgada; the latter was killed by a Gandharva and Vicitravīrya becoming king married Ambīkā and Ambālikā, the daughters of the king of Kāśi, but dying childless Satyavatī asked her son Vyāsa Dvaipāyana to beget offspring for his brother, and he, obeying his mother, begat Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura. Dhṛtarāṣṭra had 100 sons by his wife Gandhārī, of whom the most renowned are Duryōdhana, Duśśāsana, Vikarṇa and Citrasēna. Pāṇḍu had two illustrious wives, Kuntī or Pṛthā and Mādrī. Pāṇḍu while hunting killed a deer which was playing with his mate, and this deer being a sage, cursed him so that he might experience the same feelings as he had felt. Out of horror Pāṇḍu became pale, and not being able to approach his wives, he asked them to raise offspring for him, and Kuntī had thus by Dharma a son Yudhiṣṭhira, by Māruta Bhīma (Vṛkōdara) and by Śakra Arjuna, while Mādrī had Nakula and Sahadēva by the two Aśvins. When Pāṇḍu had died and Mādrī burnt herself with him, Kuntī brought up the children, who went to Hastināpura and were introduced to Bhīṣma and Vidura. Draupadī became their common wife and Yudhiṣṭhira had from her a son Prativindha, Bhīma a son Sutasōma, Arjuna Śrutakīrti, Nakula Śatānika, and Sahadēva Śrutakarman. Yudhiṣṭhira had besides by Dēvikā a son Yaudhēya, Bhīma by Valandharī Sarvaga and by Hiḍimbā Ghaṭōtkaca, Arjuna by Subhadrā, Vāsudēva's sweet-speaking sister, Abhimanyu, Nakula by Karēṇumati Niramitra, and Sahadēva by Vijayā Suhōtra. These were the eleven sons of the five Pāṇḍavas. Abhimanyu had by Uttarā a stillborn child who was revived by Kuntī and called Parīkṣit. Parīkṣit married Madrāvatī and had by her Janamējaya, who had by Vapuṣṭhamā two sons Śatānika and Śaṅkukarṇa. Śatānika married a Vaidēhī and her son was Aśvamēdhadatta.

logies contained in the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata, the first which ends in the 94th chapter appears on the whole more trustworthy, yet it does not altogether inspire confidence. The genealogical account in prose contained in the 95th chapter is no doubt extracted from the previous pedigree to which are joined some additions, for it gives as a rule only one son, the successor to the throne, but it names on the other hand the wives of the kings. It is arranged with the avowed intention to fix and to strengthen the position of the Pāṇḍavas; by introducing into the pedigree several mythical personages. The Purāṇas supply a third pedigree which much resembles the latter.[72]

It is hardly imaginable that Janamējaya, to whom Vaiśampāyana relates the pedigree of the royal race to which the king himself belonged, would have listened quietly to an account, the untrustworthiness of which especially with regard to the more recent times was so manifest, and the incorrectness of which no one could know better than the king himself. Peculiarly enough the only Janamējaya who occurs in the first genealogical table is the father of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, while in the other account Janamējaya, to whom the events of the past are told, is the great-great-grandson of Pāṇḍu. This contradiction is too apparent to require further comment.

After these cursory remarks about the descent of the Kurus and Pañcālas, I may mention that at a subsequent period both tribes dwelt as neighbours in Madhyadēśa, the Kurus living north-east of the Pañcālas. Both are often mentioned together. Thus the Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa[73]

[72] See *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, pp. 737, 738.

[73] See *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14: "Yē yē ca Kurupañcālānām rājānaḥ savaśōśinarāṇam rājyāyaiva tē'bhiṣicyantē, rājētyēnān abhiṣiktān ācakṣata." Compare also *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, V, 7, 2, 8; III, 2, 3, 15; V, 5, 2, 5, etc.; *Vājasanēyi Saṁhitā* (Kāṇva recension), XI, 3, 8; 6, 3. About

reports that the kings of the Kuru-Pañcālas were consecrated to the kingship together with the Vaśas and Uśīnaras and got the title of king.

In such a vast country as India is, it must happen that in the course of time kindred individuals and tribes became settled in different districts, and were for the sake of distinction called by such names as express these differences. These distinctive appellations can be likewise used for marking periods in the history of those to whom they apply, if once their origin is known and their significance is accepted. And this is not rare in India where it still not unfrequently occurs that whole villages, and even smaller districts, are in times of war, famine or other calamities deserted by their inhabitants who settling in another place, apply the name of their old habitations to the new home, distinguishing the old from the modern, by adding to it the necessary local distinctions. We have thus an East, a North, a West, and a South Madura. One section of the Kanarese is known as the Baḍagas or Northerners, while among the Vaiṣṇavas the two main sects are designed Northerners (Vaḍakalai) and (Southerners) Teṅkalai. Instances of this kind exist also in Sanskrit, where we meet such expressions as *Uttarakuravaḥ*, northern Kurus, *Dakṣiṇakuravaḥ*, southern Kurus, *Uttaramadrāḥ*, northern Madras, *Uttarakosalāḥ*, northern Kōsalas, *Prākkōsalāḥ*, eastern Kōsalas, *Uttarapañcālam* (rāṣṭram) North Pañcāla, *Dakṣiṇapañcālam*, South Pañcāla, etc.

The ancestors of the Gauda-Dravidians lived, as I have already pointed out, on both sides of the Himālaya, and Professor Lassen had good reason for fixing the abode of the Uttarakurus beyond this great mountain chain. In

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Kuru-Pañcālas see also Professor Julius Eggeling's introduction to the translation of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Vol. XII, pp. XLI—XLIII of the *Sacred Books of the East*.

like manner the Bāhlīkas, and other kindred tribes of the Bharatas, the Pahlavas and Pallavas, lived beyond the abode of snow. Those Gauda-Dravidians who resided in India remembered of course quite well at the beginning their far distant relatives, but the longer the separation continued, the dimmer became the recollection, till the existence of these people lived only in the legend, and was looked upon as a matter of mere imagination possessing no real foundation. Peculiarly enough we find this very opinion expressed in two different places in one and the same work. In the Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa it is contended that the various nations who live in the northern region beyond the Himālaya, such as the Uttarakurus and Uttaramadras, are consecrated to glorious rule; but a little further on it is said that the land of the Uttarakurus is the realm of the gods, which no mortal can conquer.[74] The Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Purāṇas and other Sanskrit works contain repeated allusions to the Uttarakurus. The fame of this country had spread even to foreign nations, and Ptolemy speaks of the town, mountains and people of the Ottorokorrha. Plinius and Ammianus Marcellinus, and other classical writers mention them also.[75] Professor Lassen has sufficiently proved that the country named after the Uttarakurus was not a myth,

[74] See *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14: "Tasmād ētasyām udīcyām diśi yē kē ca parēṇa Himavantam janapadāḥ Uttarakuravа Uttaramadra iti vairājyāya ēva tē' bhiṣicyantē," and VIII, 23: "Yadā brāhmaṇa uttarakurūn jayēyam atha tvam u ha ēva pṛthivyai rājā syās sēnāpatir ēvate'ham syām iti. Sa hōvāca Vasiṣṭhas Sātyahavyō dēvakṣētram vai tad na vai tad martyō jētum arhatyadrukṣō mē ā'ta idam dada iti." Compare Haug's *Aitarēya-Brahmaṇam*, Vol. I, pp. 203 and 211; Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, pp. 38—43; Professor Weber's *Indische Studien*, Vol. I, p. 218, and IX, pp. 341, 342; Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, pp. 492, 493, and Vol. II, pp. 324, 325.

[75] See Claudii Ptolemaei *Geographia* edit. C. F. A. Nobbe, Vol. II, pp. 128, 129, 130, and 245, or VI, 16, 2, 3, ὄρος Ὀττοροκορρᾶς; VI, 16, 5, the people Ὀττοροκορραι, and VI, 16, 8 and VIII, 24, 7 the town Ὀττοροκορρα

though the recollection of it had faded away and the people of India treated it afterwards as a divine fable land.[76]

The Kurus and the Pañcālas were the two principal tribes of the Bharatas, who alternately lived in close friendship with, or fought against, each other in fierce battles. Such a sanguinary and pernicious war forms the legendary subject of the Mahābhārata, which has as its special theme the fortunes of the great Bharata family, but which includes within its voluminous pages an encyclopædia of ancient Hindu history, geography, divinity and cosmology. This is not the place to enlarge on the age and authenticity of the grand Epic. Suffice it to say that some portions are evidently old and must undoubtedly have been written before the birth of Christ. It is, however, curious that no clear and distinct allusion to the Mahābhārata is found in the older Sanskrit writings.

The original Mahābhārata, for it is pretty certain that the Epic in its present recension is of later date, sided, in the fight between the Kauravas and the Pañcāla-Pāṇḍavas, with the brave, honest and noble but ill-starred Kauravas who succumbed not to the valour but to the insidious tricks of their enemies. For to mean wiles fell victims the wise Bhiṣma, the confiding Drōṇa, and the fierce Karṇa, while Duryōdhana, whose real name appears to have been Suyōdhana, was disabled by an unfair blow on his thigh and then killed by Bhīma. When the poem appeared in its original form, the deeds of the Kauravas were still fresh in the memory of the people, but when the older generations had disappeared, the recollection of these deeds became gradually dimmer and dimmer, so that the infamous behaviour of the Pāṇḍavas was entirely forgotten, and the two parties changed sides in the later literary works so far as

[76] See Lassen's Essay in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, II, 62 ff, and *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, pp. 612 and 802 (512 and 654, first edition).

the moral character of both was concerned, the intriguing Pāṇḍavas being white-washed and extolled, while the upright Kauravas were blackened and calumniated. Yet though Brāhman writers and revisors tried their best to pervert the tenor of the whole poem, representing the Pāṇḍavas as genuine Aryan warriors endowed with valour, candour and humanity, and to represent the Kauravas as vile tyrants; the facts were too strong to make it possible for them to succeed in obliterating the whole past. In spite of all their endeavours to omit altogether, or to explain away all questionable incidents in the career of the Pāṇḍavas by introducing supernatural agencies or inventing religious motives, the case was too clearly against them to obtain their object, nor could they entirely silence the objections of pious critics.

The genuine Kuru dynasty ended as we have seen with Śāntanu, because his sons Citrāṅgada and Vicitravīrya died without leaving any offspring. In this difficulty their mother Satyavatī had recourse to her son Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, the son of Parāśara, whom she persuaded to obtain issue from Ambikā and Ambālikā, the two widows of his deceased half-brother Vicitravīrya. Through this connexion were born Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, who could not, however, be regarded as genuine Kauravas, as neither their reputed father nor their mothers had any Kuru-blood in their veins. It has been suggested that in the older recension Bhiṣma took the place of Vyāsa,[77] in which case Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu at least would belong to the Kuru-family, yet this objection is in reality of no importance. None of the wives of blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra or of pale Pāṇḍu were Aryan ladies by birth, Gāndhārī was a daughter of the king of the Gandhāras, Kuntī or Pṛthā was a Bhōja princess and Mādrī belonged to the non-Aryan Madras. The

[77] See Professor Adolf Holtzmann's *Indische Sagen*, Einleitung, p. XIII. About the Mahābhārata consult "*Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahābhārata* von Dr. Adolf Holtzmann, Prof. an der Universität Freiburg i. B"., Kiel, 1892.

legend, moreover, makes Pāṇḍu impotent in consequence of a curse he had incurred while hunting, and Kuntī became a mother of her three sons Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna and Bhīma by associating with the gods Dharma, Indra and Vāyu as her temporary husbands, while Mādrī became in a similar manner through the assistance of the two Aśvins the mother of Nakula and Sahadēva. Yet not satisfied with their miraculous birth the five Pāṇḍavas became enamoured of one and the same woman, and Arjuna won for them all Draupadī, the daughter of Drupada, the king of the Pañcālas. This most flagrant case of polyandry was rather a disagreeable circumstance, but the ingenuity of the Brāhmans was quite equal to explain it; and Draupadī is said to have had five husbands, as Śiva had willed it so because she had prayed in her previous birth five times for a husband. On the other hand the five Pāṇḍavas should be regarded as five incarnations of Indra and in consequence as one man. This occurrence of polyandry and other peculiar customs connect the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas closely with the non-Aryan inhabitants of India, among whom these habits prevailed. Even among the Uttarakurus the women were not bound by their marriage bonds, but chose their mates as they pleased without showing any regard for the feelings of their kinsmen. This fact would by itself furnish strong evidence of the existence of polyandry in Northern India in ancient times, independently of the circumstance that this custom still flourishes there.[78]

[78] See *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparvan*, CXXII: Pāṇḍu tells his wife Kuntī that the women were in former times not kept within houses and dependent on husbands and other relatives, but enjoyed themselves as best as they could. This practice was not regarded sinful, and is still in vogue among the Uttarakurus. It was, however, abolished by Śvētakētu, the son of the sage Uddālaka, when he saw that a strange Brāhman in the presence of his own father took his own mother away with him.

3. Atha tvidam pravakṣyāmi dharmatattvam nibōdha mē
purāṇam ṛṣibhir dṛṣṭam dharmavidbhir mahātmabhiḥ.

It is here perhaps not out of place to mention a peculiar custom observed at the *Aśvamēdha* or horse-sacrifice, which may be regarded as showing traces of non-Aryan origin. The reigning queen (*mahiṣī*), desirous of a son and heir, must in company with other favorite wives of the king, as the *vāvātā, parivṛktī* and *pālakalī*, spend the night near the slain sacrificial horse, exposing herself to him as to a husband. According to the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, the priest leading her to the horse says: "O Ambā, O Ambikā, O Ambālikā, O blessed one, who is covered with a Kāmpīla-cloth; you both shall enjoy yourselves in heaven," as the queen complains, that no one leads her, and that the horse sleeps.

4. Anāvṛtāḥ kila purā striya āsan varānanē
kāmacāravihāriṇyaḥ svatantrāś cāruhāsini.
5. Tāsām vyuccaramāṇānām kaumārāt subhagē patīn
nādharmō'bhūd varārōhē sa hi dharmaḥ purābhavat.
6. Tañcaiva dharmam paurāṇam tiryag yōnigatāḥ prajāḥ
adyāpyanuvidhīyantē kāmakrōdhavivarjitāḥ.
7. Pramāṇadṛṣṭō dharmō'yam pūjyatē ca maharṣibhiḥ
uttarēṣu ca rambhōru kuruṣvadyāpi pūjyatē.
8. Strīṇām anugrahakaraḥ sa hi dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ
asmiṁstu lōkē na cirān maryādēyam śucismitē.
sthāpitā yēna yasmācca tan mē vistarataḥ śṛṇu.
9. Babhūvōddālakō nāma maharṣir iti naḥ śrutam
Śvētakētur iti khyātaḥ putrastasyābhavan muniḥ.
10. Maryādēyam kṛtā tēna dharmyā vai Śvētakētunā
kōpāt kamalapatrākṣi yad artham tam nibōdha mē.
11. Śvētakētōḥ kila purā samakṣam mātaram pituḥ
jagrāha Brāhmaṇaḥ pāṇau gacchāva iti cābravīt.
12. Ṛṣiputras tataḥ kōpam cakārāmarṣacōditaḥ
mātaram tām tathā dṛṣṭvā nīyamānām balād iva.
13. Kruddham tam tu pitā dṛṣṭvā Śvētakētum uvāca ha
Mā tāta kōpam kārṣistvam ēṣa dharmas sanātanaḥ.
14. Anāvṛtā hi sarvēṣām varṇānām aṅganā bhuvi
yathā gāvaḥ sthitās tāta svē svē varṇē tathā prajāḥ.
15. Ṛṣiputrō'tha tam dharmam Śvētakētur na cakṣamē
cakāra caiva maryādām imām strīpuṁsayōr iti.

In spite of Pāṇḍu's words his very grandchildren transgressed this law introduced by Śvētakētu. See *above*, pp. 214 and 216, about the practice of polyandry among the Kunāwāris.

The queen from under the white silk cloth, where she is with the horse, utters four times further complaints to the other queens, about the futility of her designs, as the horse is sleeping. They, however, console her and say that she will nevertheless get her reward, for the horse does its duty though she does not perceive it, and that she will ultimately obtain a son.[79] The abovementioned Kāmpīla

[79] The *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*, VII, 4, 19, 1—3 reads 1. "Ambē Ambālyambikē, na mā nayati kaścana, sasastyaśvakaḥ, subhagē kāmpīlavāsini suvargē lōkē samprōrṇvāthām, āham ajāni garbhadham ā tvam ajāsi garbhadham, tau saha caturaḥ padaḥ samprasārayāvahai, vṛṣā vām rētōdhā rētōdadhātūtsakthyōr gṛdam dhēhyañ jimudañ jim anvaja, yaḥ strīṇām jīvabhōjanō ya āsām 2. biladhāvanaḥ, priyaḥ strīṇām āpīcyaḥ, ya āsāṅkṛṣṇē lakṣmaṇi, sardigṛdim parāvadhit. Ambē Ambālyambikē na mā yabhati kaścana, sasastyaśvakaḥ, ūrdhvām ēnām ucchrayatād vēṇubhāram girāviva, athāsyā madhyam ēdhatāṁ śītē vātē punanniva. Ambē Ambālyambikē na mā yabhati kaścana sasastyaśvakaḥ, yaddhanyayam atti na 3. puṣṭam paśu manyatē, śūdrā yad aryajārā na pōṣāya dhanāyati. Ambē Ambaliyambikē na mā yabhati kaścana sasastyaśvakaḥ, iyaṁ yakā śakuntikā halam iti sarpati, āhatam gabhē pasō ni jalguli ti dhāṇikā. Ambē Ambāliyambikē na mā yabhati kaścana, sasastyaśvakaḥ, mā tā ca tē pitā ca tē'gram vṛkṣasya rōhat 4. prasulamiti [illegible] gabhē muṣṭim ataṁsayat."

Compare with this *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa*, III, 9. 5, 1—13. 6. "Yathōktasya mṛtōpacārasyānuṣṭhānārtham pratiprasthātṛkartṛkam patnyānayanam vidhattē." Ambē Ambālyambika iti patnīm udānayati ahvataivainām "iti, ambādiśabdaiḥ pratiprasthātā mahiṣīm sambōdhayati, tēna tām āhvayatyēva ētaccānyāsām apyupalakṣaṇam. 7. Yaduktam sūtrakārēṇa subhagē kāmpīlavāsinīti śōṇēna vāsasādhvaryur mahiṣīm aśvañca pracchādyēti,-tasmin mantrē prathamabhāgasya tātparyam darśayati. Subhagē kāmpīlavāsinītyāha, tapa ēvainām upanayati iti. Atra pratiprasthātā mahiṣīm sambōdhayati, hē subhagē saubhāgyayuktē, hē kāmpīlavāsini śṛṅgārārtham vicitradukūlavastrōpētē, anēna sambōdhanēna mahiṣīm 'ēnām,' 'tapa ēva,' prāpayati, mṛtēnāśvēna saha bhōgārtham āhvānam santāpahētutvāt tapasthānīyam."

The *Vājasanēyi-Saṁhitā* (Mādhyandina recension, XXIII, 18) has: "Ambē Ambikē'mbālikē na mā nayati kaścana sasastyaśvakaḥ subhadrikām kāmpīlavāsinīm." 19. Gaṇānān tvā gaṇapatim havāmāhē priyāṇāntvā priyapatim havāmahē nidhīnāntvā nidhipatim havāmahē vasō mama."

About the *Aśvamēdha* see *Ṛgvēda* I, 162 and 163; and *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa*, XIII (XIV) 35, 36:

35. Patatriṇā tadā sārdham suṣṭhitēna ca cētasā
avasad rajanīm ēkām Kauśalyā putrakāmyayā.
36. Hōtādhvaryustathōdgātā hayēna samayōjayan
mahiṣyāḥ parivṛtyartham upōḍhām aparām tathā.

is a town in the Pañcāla country, where certain precious kinds of cloth were manufactured.

Professor Weber is inclined to explain the words *Subhadrikām Kāmpīlavāsinīm* which occur in the Vājasanēyi-Saṁhitā for which *Subhagē Kāmpīlavāsini* stand in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, as referring to Subhadrā, the wife of Arjuna, and the names Ambikā and Ambalikā as applying to the mothers of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu. In this case the whole passage would point to an event in the history of the Kuru-Pañcālas. Though such an explanation would suit my purpose, I am afraid that it cannot be accepted. I am, however, satisfied that the ceremony is of non-Aryan origin, and therefore I have quoted it.[80]

It would not be difficult for me to produce from the man-

The Bombay edition and that of Carey and Marshman (p. 173) read 36*b* as follows: "mahiṣyā parivṛttyāś ca vāvātām aparām tathā." The Grantha edition reads *hastēna* instead of [illegible] commentary of [illegible] Rāmāyaṇa (Gōvindarājīya) says: "Atra sūtram: *Ambē Ambālyambikē* iti japantī mahiṣī aśvam upasaṅgamya *gaṇānām tvā gaṇapatim havāmahē* ityabhimantrya utsaktyōr gṛdam dhēhīti prajananē prajananam sannidhāya upaviśati. *Subhagē Kāmpīlavāsini* iti kṣaumēṇa vāsasā adhvaryuḥ mahiṣīm aśvam ca prāchādya vṛṣā vām rētōdhāḥ rētō dadhātu iti japati agnidhra ētām rātrim ṛtvijaḥ yajamānām jāgarayanti." (Daśaratha gives his four queens the Mahiṣī, Parivṛkti, Vāvātā and Pālakalī to the Hōtṛ, Adhvaryu, Udgātṛ and Brahman (Atharvan) priests respectively as their wives. The priests return the queens after the ceremonial against a present to the king.

[80] See Professor Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 114, 115 "The second passage occurs in connection with the horse sacrifice (XXIII, 18). The *mahishī*, or principal wife of the king, performing this sacrifice, must, in order to obtain a son, pass the night by the side of the horse that has been immolated, placing its *śiśna* on her *upastha*; with her fellow-wives, who are forced to accompany her, she pours forth her sorrow in this lament: 'O Ambā, O Ambikā, O Ambālikā, no one takes me (by force to the horse); (but if I go not of myself) the (spiteful) horse will lie with (another, as) the (wicked) Subhadrā who dwells in Kāmpila.' Kāmpila is a town in the country of the Pañchālas. Subhadrā, therefore, would seem to be the wife of the king of that district, and the benefits of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice are supposed to accrue to them, unless the *mahishī* consents

ners and customs prevailing among the Kurus, Pañcālas and Pāṇḍavas further evidence to show that they resemble those of their non-Aryanised relations beyond the pale, but I believe that sufficient proofs have been already brought forward in support of the non-Aryan descent of the former. It must also not be forgotten, in cases like these, that it is quite impossible at this distant period to give an accurate and concise description of the manners to which the people of India adhered in those days, though we may be able to give a general account of them.

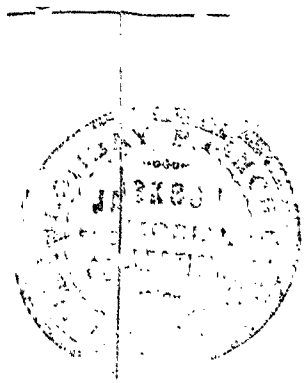
If I now summarize the conclusions to which I have arrived concerning the Bharatas, I contend that the Bharatas mentioned in the Ṛgvēda, principally as the followers of Viśvāmitra, were warriors of non-Aryan origin, who disconnecting themselves early from their aboriginal kindred and gaining access into the Aryan pale, became by their superior prowess and influence the representative tribe of the Aryan race, as their relatives beyond the pale were the representatives of the aboriginal inhabitants. They were divided into two great branches, the Kurus and Pañcāla-Pāṇḍavas, round which were grouped the other smaller clans. In a similar manner two great tribes, the Gaudians and Dravidians, formed the chief component parts of the non-Aryanised Bharatas, who, split up in numberless sub-

voluntarily to give herself up to this revolting ceremony. If we are justified in regarding the *mahishī* as the consort of a king of the Kurus,—and the names Ambikā and Ambālikā actually appear in this connection in the Mahābhārata, to wit, as the names of the mothers of Dhṛitarāshṭra and Pāṇḍu,—we might then with probability infer that there existed a hostile, jealous feeling on the part of the Kurus towards the Pañchālas, a feeling which was possibly at that time only smouldering, but which in the epic legend of the Mahabhārata we find had burst out into the flame of open warfare. However this may be, the allusion to Kāmpila at all events betrays that the verse, or even the whole book (as well as the corresponding passages of the Taitt. Brāhmaṇa), originated in region of the Pañchālas; and this inference holds good also for the el ook of the Kāṇva recension." I quote from the first edition, as I yet on the second edition of the History of Indian Literature

divisions, were spread over the whole length and breadth of India, and even beyond it, if we include the Uttarakurus and Bāhlīkas with their immediate kindred who lived beyond the Himalayan mountain range. I have given a list of these various tribes in some previous chapters.[81] Though the non-Aryan population everywhere considerably outstripped the Aryans in numbers, the latter, except in the case of some northern districts, though forming in fact only an infinitesimal fraction of the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula, were nevertheless able to gain and to retain dominion over the numberless aborigines by the display of their superior mental and physical powers, to exact implicit obedience to their behests, stamping on them the seal of divine ordinance, by arrogating to themselves the title of Gods on Earth. And yet while occupying without dispute the position of lords over the whole country, these masters when naming the land could not find a more suitable appellation for it than one which contains the name of the most prominent and powerful indigenous race, the Bharatas, connecting it with their eponymous king Bharata. In consequence, I prefer as India's name the designation Bharatavarṣa, or land of the Bharatas. Indeed, if I may venture a suggestion, I think that as a general name comprising all the inhabitants of India that of Bharata should have the preference, because all classes and clans of the population can put in a claim for it. Even the Brāhmans, to whom it does not properly apply, could have no objection to it, in consequence of their ancient and intimate connexion with the Bharata-kings, and their present high position as principal leaders in temporal and spiritual matters of the population of Bharatavarṣa. Such a name will bridge over the great social chasms, which divide at present the Hindus, and perhaps bring together

[81] See *above*, pp. 14, 112 and 113.

in union the two great antagonistic sections of the original inhabitants, which since the earliest times of antiquity have lived estranged from each other, not always, perhaps, in open enmity and war, yet never in sincere friendship: I mean those divisions which appear in history at various times and occasions as Kurus and Pañcālas, Gaudians and Dravidians, Kurumbas and Pallas, etc. To all these kindred tribes, as to the Kurus and Pañcālas of old, the term *Bharata* can be applied, as it includes all Aryanised and non-Aryan Indian clans within and without the Aryan pale, and I consider that by accepting such a time-honoured and honourable name as their national designation, a great step towards national unity would be taken in India.



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